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CAN CLINTON SURVIVE?

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Kohl Gets Key Boost In Bavarian Election

By William Drozdiak
Washington Post Service

BERLIN — Chancellor Helmut Kohl's struggling re-election campaign received an important boost Sunday when his Bavarian allies, the Christian Social Union, won about 52 percent of the vote and kept their absolute majority in Germany's biggest and most prosperous state.

The results in the Bavarian state vote, held just two weeks before the national election, came as a disappointment to the Social Democrats. They scored less than 30 percent, according to early returns, despite extensive campaigning by their candidate for chancellor, Gerhard Schroeder.

Mr. Kohl's ruling Christian Democrats hailed the victory by their Bavarian sister party as a harbinger that

voter sentiment was shifting in their favor in the waning days of the national campaign. Opinion polls still show the Social Democrats running three to seven points ahead.

"This was a serious blow for the Social Democrats and especially for their chancellor candidate, who was their chief fighter here," said the Bavarian premier, Edmund Stoiber, who led the election campaign for the Christian Social Union. "There has been a clear change in voting trends and the Christian Democrats are now moving up."

But the Social Democrats denied the outcome, claiming that Mr. Stoiber won by keeping his distance from Mr. Kohl and railing against the chancellor's pet project, the single European currency.

See GERMANY, Page 8



Chancellor Helmut Kohl of Germany pressing the flesh Sunday in Herzheim as he campaigned for the Sept. 27 general election.

Swissair Wins High Mark For Actions After Crash

The Airline and Investigators Moved Rapidly To Give Comfort and Help to Grieving Families

By Steven Pearlstein
and Don Phillips
Washington Post Service

HALIFAX, Nova Scotia — A week after TWA Flight 800 crashed off Long Island in 1996, families of the victims had become so angry at the airline and crash investigators that President Bill Clinton and his wife, Hillary, flew up to New York to try to smooth things over.

The list of complaints: refusal to make public the passenger list, delays in identifying bodies, special toll-free 800 numbers that could not be reached, information issued to the press before it was given to grieving relatives. These problems were associated with other airline crashes as well.

But in the aftermath of the latest aviation tragedy, the crash of Swissair Flight 111 the night of Sept. 2, friends and relatives are full of praise for how the airline and investigators have accommodated their needs as best they could.

"We are all so appreciative of the professionalism and dedication of the professional staff and volunteers here," said Claire Mortimer of Berkeley, California, after viewing the site last weekend off Peggy's Cove where her father and stepmother died.

"Absolutely everything we wanted or needed they've taken care of," said John Wallace, a State Department employee who lost a brother-in-law and sister-in-law in the crash. Mr. Wallace said Swissair had flown in relatives from around the country for the event, engaged caterers and even had people take them shopping to get appropriate clothing.

This dramatic change is not simply a reflection of Canadian hospitality and Swiss attention to detail, although those surely are factors. It also follows a change in U.S. aviation law.

After returning to Washington from his visit with the TWA families, Mr. Clinton was persuaded to set in motion a series of events that led to legislation putting the National Transportation Safety Board in charge of coordinating assistance to the families of crash victims and requiring all airlines operating in the United States to have an approved family assistance plan.

The Swissair crash is the second major accident to occur since those mandates took effect. The first was the crash of a Korean Airlines plane last year on Guam.

About 1,000 employees of Delta Air Lines, Swissair's U.S. partner, had

See SWISSAIR, Page 2

AGENDA

Russians to Meet on Ruble and Economy

MOSCOW (Reuters) — The new government of Russia will present proposals on Monday aimed at stabilizing the ruble after recent alarming plunges, and will have an economic program ready by the end of the week, First Deputy Prime Minister Yuri Maslyukov said Sunday.

Mr. Maslyukov, appointed by Prime Minister Yevgeni Primakov to oversee the economy, made the re-

mark on the independent Moscow radio station Echo Moskvy.

Mr. Primakov has still to determine his economic policies. He and President Boris Yeltsin have pledged to adhere to market reforms. But Mr. Maslyukov's appointment and that of Viktor Gerashchenko as central bank chairman have raised concern among some liberal politicians of a return to Soviet-style economics. Page 4.

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Kuwait	700 Fils
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Oman	1,250 OR
Qatar	10.00 QR
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Shooting in Tehran Increases Tensions

A burst of gunfire through the office window of an influential official, Mohsen Rafiqdoost, added to tensions in Tehran as the government stepped up its verbal campaign against the Islamic Taliban movement across the border in Afghanistan over diplomats' deaths. The Iranian official survived the attack. Page 8.

Conflicting Reports

There are more than a few conflicts between Starr's report and the White House response. Page 11.

Why Did He Risk It?

It remains unclear why President Clinton took up with Monica Lewinsky. Page 10.

Lurid revelations engross the international press. Page 9.

The president should not lose his job, says Maureen Dowd; Richard Cohen denounces a "medieval" inquiry. Page 12.

Millions access Web sites to read the report. Page 15.

Republicans Are Angered By Clinton's Vow to Fight

White House Builds Its Case

By Brian Knowlton
International Herald Tribune

Ron Edmonds/Agence France-Presse
Senator Lott is urging president to "consider a cooperative process."

In Rebuttal, No Grounds To Impeach

By Dan Balz
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — President Bill Clinton's lawyers have issued a scathing rebuttal to the independent counsel's report to Congress about the president's relationship with Monica Lewinsky, denouncing it as "pornographic" and a "hit-and-run smear campaign" whose legal foundation is so weak that no prosecutor would present it "to any jury."

The White House rebuttal Saturday acknowledged repeatedly that Mr. Clinton's relationship with Ms. Lewinsky was wrong, but it concluded with a series of declarations that underscored the president's statement Friday that he would ask his lawyers to mount a vigorous defense in his behalf.

"The president did not commit perjury," the White House response stated. "He did not obstruct justice. He did not tamper with witnesses. And he did not abuse the power of the office of the presidency."

The 42-page response to Mr. Starr's report was the second in as many days from Mr. Clinton's lawyers rebuking the independent counsel's voluminous document saying there was "substantial and credible" evidence of potentially impeachable offenses in 11 areas, including perjury, obstruction of justice and abuse of power.

Mr. Clinton's lawyers sought to demolish those findings, claiming that the Starr report was in reality "a portrait of biased recouping, skewed analysis and unconstitutional overreaching" that fell far short of establishing the constitutional grounds for impeachment.

Repeating a claim made Friday, the president's lawyers said his private attorney, David Kendall, and the White House counsel's office — argued that Mr. Starr had piled up lurid details of the sexual encounters between the president and Ms. Lewinsky in areas just off the Oval Office to "cause pain" to the president and to cover up the weakness of Mr. Starr's legal grounds for impeachment.

The White House report denied that Mr. Clinton had perjured himself in his Jan. 17 deposition in the Paula Jones case or in his Aug. 17 testimony before Mr. Starr's grand jury, repeating the lawyers' claim that "a witness who gave narrow answers to ambiguous questions" about sex had not met the legal grounds of lying under oath on questions of whether he had a sexual relationship with Ms. Lewinsky, whether they had ever been alone together and whether they had exchanged gifts.

The president spoke in good faith, the response said, when he concluded that

quick resolution to the crisis facing the Clinton presidency was unlikely. And that is causing anguish not only in Washington and across the United States, but in capitals around the world as foreign leaders watch in dismay as the executive leadership of an economic and military superpower is forced to focus on an impeachment debate at home rather than the collapse of economies in Asia and Russia, or the bloodshed in Kosovo or Congo.

Mr. Lott was asked by a television interviewer whether the House Judiciary Committee was likely to open impeachment hearings after it completes a study of the Starr report. "Unless something changes," he said on Fox-TV, "I don't see how they avoid it."

That could change, Mr. Lott said, if Mr. Clinton would drop his legal defense, "consider a cooperative process, and see if there's some way this could be brought to a conclusion sooner rather than later" — an apparent allusion to a possible congressional censure of Mr. Clinton.

But Mr. Lott added that if Mr. Clinton dismissed the 445-page Starr report as "just a smear, that doesn't help."

The second-ranking Republican in the House, Tom DeLay of Texas, echoed Mr. Lott's comment. Mr. Clinton's recent apologies for the sexual

relationship he had with Monica Lewinsky, and his efforts to cover it up, were not enough, he said.

"To get this behind him," said Mr. DeLay, long a fierce critic of the president, "he has to confess what he did and accept the consequences of his action."

Mr. DeLay said that if Mr. Clinton

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Congress was under active if informal consideration. He said Mr. Clinton was desperate to avoid becoming the third president (after Andrew Johnson and Richard Nixon) to face impeachment proceedings and the second, after Mr. Nixon, driven from office.

The subject of an early presidential resignation, said Senator Bob Kerrey, Democrat of Nebraska, recently, is bobbing "right below the surface."

It is indeed a topic under intense discussion by politicians and other members of the chattering classes in the capital, premature though that may be. It is clearly an eventual option, but not an attractive one quite yet.

See OPTIONS, Page 9

Narrow Choice of Options for President

Quick Steps Seem Unlikely While Waiting for Public Opinion to Form

By R. W. Apple Jr.
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — As President Bill Clinton starts down a fateful road with many forks, he will want to walk as slowly as he can.

It would be surprising if he made definitive decisions quickly.

Public opinion coalesces only slowly, and public opinion will ultimately prove sovereign. It will guide Congress in its deliberations, as well as the president, but its shape may not be completely clear for a week or more.

A first option open to the president is an effort to strike a deal with the Republican congressional leadership that would cut short the bruising legal pro-

cess that looms ahead by agreeing to a censure or reprimand. His lawyers bobbed and weaved on that possibility Friday, but they did not rule it out.

Not much was said about the possibility on Capitol Hill this weekend, partly because it is not clear who could

deliver the House for a deal. Certainly, it would need the backing of Newt Gingrich. But even with his support, it would be no cinch; the Republican ranks are full of hard-edged conservatives — some call them Clinton-busters — who want impeachment to move ahead.

Nonetheless, a White House aide said over the weekend that an approach to

Congress was under active if informal consideration. He said Mr. Clinton was desperate to avoid becoming the third president (after Andrew Johnson and Richard Nixon) to face impeachment proceedings and the second, after Mr. Nixon, driven from office.

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See BEHAVIOR, Page 10

A History of Adjusting to Predicaments

By David Maraniss
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — There is a surefire scene on Page 242 of the Starr report where President Bill Clinton is offering several false or misleading explanations to a White House assistant a few hours after the Monica Lewinsky story broke Jan. 21.

Mr. Clinton asserts he has "done nothing wrong," had talked to Ms. Lewinsky perhaps once on the telephone, and that she "made a sexual demand" on him but he rebuffed her. She had threatened him, he said, was "known as a stalker" among her peers, and would not leave him alone.

After making this sweeping declaration of innocence to his aide, Sidney Blumenthal, a former journalist steeped in politics, literature and conspiracy theories, Mr. Clinton compares himself to Nicholas Rubashov, the protagonist in an Arthur Koestler novel who is imprisoned and eventually executed on false charges, a victim of the monstrous powers of a police state.

"I feel like somebody who is surrounded by an oppressive force that is creating a fire about me and I can't get the truth out," Mr. Clinton says. "I feel like the character in the novel 'Darkness at Noon'."

In avoiding blame for his troubles and comparing himself to Rubashov, Mr.

Clinton evoked many of the characteristics that are a familiar part of his history: his fertile literary imagination, his sense of victimhood, his desire to please, his need to conceal his own embarrassing sexual behavior, his tendency toward self-delusion, his legitimate concerns about the invasive powers of his adversaries and his peculiar manipulation of semantics to construct a story line at once compelling and illusory.

The 453-page report by the Office of Independent Counsel is replete with scenes of Mr. Clinton's adjusting to his predicament in similar ways. He might be talking almost anywhere to anyone — in the White House with an assistant, on television addressing the nation, in the Oval Office flirting with Ms. Lewinsky, in the outer office refreshing the memory of his secretary, Betty Currie.



Kenneth Starr, the independent counsel, chatting Sunday with one of the U.S. marshals who serves in the security detail at his Virginia home.

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Edge of a Boom / Austerity Begins to Pay Off in Maputo

The Secret to Mozambique's Potential Success

By Donald G. McNeil Jr.
New York Times Service

MAPUTO, Mozambique — Mozambique's monuments to faded era are still pretty shabby. The bulking left from the days of Portuguese colonialism is a wreck. The grass around the memorials on the Avenue of Popular War goes untrimmed, and corn planted by starving urbanites still sprouts in parks.

The children sitting in classrooms on the concrete floors scuffed smooth by their bare, sandy feet could as easily be in China or anywhere else where tropical breezes let socialist decay creep through less harshly than it did in Eastern Europe.

But to anyone who has been here awhile, this is a boom town where investors are filling plans for hydroelectric plants, offshore gas fields, aluminum, titanium and steel smelters and highways. A South African supermarket chain has built a mall near the border. An old colonial manse is now the office of an international bank — and the Soviet-bloc-style apartment tower overlooking its backyard pool has satellite dishes in windows where once only laundry hung.

"When I came here nine years ago there were no traffic jams," said Juliet Born, a program adviser for the U.S. Agency for International Development, "because there wasn't a car or bus on the streets. The shops were empty. There were sidewalk cafés with waiters in them, but nothing to serve. They had no coffee, no tea, no milk, no sugar."

Now Maputo, the capital, has three luxury hotels and several restaurants overcharging for Mozambique's famously huge prawns.

The boom, thus far, is just a tiny beginning in a country that still vies for the title of world's poorest. The gross domestic product per person is \$152 per year. (In next-door South Africa it is about \$3,000; in the United States it is about \$28,000.)

Still, the economy grew 14 percent last year, while South Africa's grew less than 2 percent. Inflation has dropped to 6 percent, from 70 percent in 1994.

"The IMF and World Bank are very happy with Mozambique," said Marco Pinon Farah, the resident representative of the International Monetary Fund, one of the country's chief creditors. "But of course, 14 percent of nothing is still nothing."

Mozambique considered a torchbearer of the African Renaissance, a favorite of Western bankers who like strict economic management imposed on poor debtors.

In the first Africa Competitiveness Report, released at a World Economic Forum summit meeting in May, it topped the optimism index and was fourth in overall improvement between 1992 and 1997.

But the new Mozambique's role in the world economy is still much like its colonial one: being exploited by foreign buyers for raw materials. In his speech at the May summit meeting, President Jo-

BY THE NUMBERS

Mozambique

Mozambique, one of the world's poorest countries, has an economy that has grown 14 percent in the last year. South Africa.

Mozambique's neighbor, leads the way in foreign investment.

FOREIGN INVESTMENT

(1997, in millions)

South Africa	\$869.0
Portugal	14.6
Britain	1.9
United States	1.0

GDP PER CAPITA

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THE AMERICAS

Church Shows Signs of Life in Cuba

Pope's Visit Helped Ease Curbs, but Some Say Process Is Too Slow

By Tim Golden
New York Times Service

HAVANA — In cramped living rooms and quiet back yards across this Communist-ruled island, Roman Catholic faithful and curious newcomers are gathering to discuss the Bible, debate values and talk a bit more openly about Cuba's future.

Parish priests say baptisms of adults are on the rise. Catechism classes are enrolling new children. In Havana, the newest addition to the country's tiny corps of native-born priests was ordained the other day at a triumphal Mass in the somber stone cathedral.

Yet, such signs of a new vitality in church life do not obscure the disappointment and frustration that have been growing among Roman Catholics here since Pope John Paul II visited in January.

The government of President Fidel Castro, which won praise for receiving the Pope, broadcasting his often-critical messages and releasing scores of prisoners at his behest, has shown little new flexibility since then in response to church requests for greater freedom.

Efforts to ease the admittance of foreign priests and nuns have made no apparent progress. Nor have pleas that the government scale back controls on Catholic social service agencies that could distribute badly needed food and medicines from abroad.

Permits for religious processions have been denied as often as they have been granted, church officials said, and hopes that the Pope's visit might open spaces for religious groups in the state-controlled news media have mostly been dashed.

Approval of longstanding requests to allow the opening of Catholic schools or importation of an offset press to print newsletters and magazines — seems as distant as it did in years past.

"Religious people in general are feeling a greater sense of freedom than they did before the pope came," said Orlando Marquez, a spokesman for the archbishop of Havana, Cardinal Jaime Ortega.

But Mr. Marquez quickly added: "It is obvious that there is still lack of understanding by the authorities of the role that the church should have in society. There are still limitations that are unnecessary."

Both government and church officials emphasize that the months they spent preparing for and staging the pope's five-day visit left a legacy of better communication between them.

Problems that might have flared into small crises in the past, they say, have been handled with discretion and dispatch. When a medical emergency required a bishop to travel suddenly to the United States on a weekend, the authorities arranged an exit visa immediately.

When Communist Party officials lost patience with what they considered the inappropriate "political" activities of an American-born priest in the central province of Villa Clara, church officials reluctantly agreed to bring him back to Havana to avoid his expulsion.

Church officials said the priest, the Reverend Patrick Sullivan, refused to be reassigned and opted to leave the country.

"A working relationship has been established between the Bishops' Conference and the Cuban government which I think will be very significant for the future," said Cardinal Bernard Law of Boston, an observer of the Cuban church.

"The climate of church-state relations is better," Cardinal Law added in a phone interview, offering an opinion many Cuban clerics would give only in private. "But what good is the climate if other things don't happen? You can't just celebrate climate forever."

By prevailing Latin American standards, the Catholic Church in Cuba remains so small and cautious as to seem almost politically insignificant.

A typical tone was struck by the Reverend Manuel Ura, as he led a visitor through the classrooms he was building in the basement of his Church of San Juan de Letran in Havana.

"The process has to be a gradual one," he said. "Changes must be prepared for."

BOOKS

MISTLER'S EXIT

By Louis Begley. 206 pages. \$22. Knopf.

Reviewed by Adam Kirsch

LOUIS BEGLEY's fifth novel, "Mister's Exit," is a gilded miniature. This is true of its subject matter: New York's wealthy professional elite, the latter-day counterpart to Edith Wharton's aristocrats. But it is equally true of Begley's style, which favors expert craftsmanship over ragged energies, and of his view of life, which could best be described as Epicurean: pleasure-loving, matriarch to the point of world-weariness, and decidedly unmepaphysical.

These are also the attributes of Thomas Muster, whose "exit" from the world with an almost apathetic grace forms Begley's subject. As in "About Schmidt," his last novel, we are among the rich and well-bred, linked by their clubs, their Ivy League educations, and their Long Island and Connecticut retreats. Muster is an advertising tycoon somewhere in his sixties, who early on abandoned his literary ambitions for the more concrete attainments of the professional world. Men who candidly admit, like Muster, that "what I really do is use power" are not often lovable, and Begley does not care overmuch about making us sympathize with his protagonist. Indeed, we get the feeling that Muster himself would not want such sympathy, especially from strangers: He is endowed with a strong sense of his privileges and independence, and his behavior toward his wife, his business partner and even his dinner-party companions is frequently ruthless.

Mister's cold confidence is not even shaken when, on the first page of the novel, he learns that he is dying of liver cancer. Ordinarily, we would expect such a revelation to lead to soul-searching and reevaluations; for Muster, however, the news prompts only a trip to Venice, whose beauties he intends to sample one last time.

When he arrives, he is surprised to find that Lina, a young photographer he met at a dinner party, is waiting in his room; the inevitable affair follows. But we know that Muster is a man of the world, with many infidelities under his belt, and the affair with Lina is explicitly not a final clutch at youth. Indeed, it is a lackluster and almost unwanted romance, as Muster himself reflects: "The paradox was amusing: that he, who had so little time, should have less and less inclination to seize the day." Instead, he keeps with his class ethos and his own temperament, he practices the cooler pleasures of connoisseurship: drinking good wines, visiting his favorite Titans, taking a gondola to the best restaurants.

For the first three-quarters of the novel, this calm deification is carried out with Begley's usual quiet refinement. Only toward the end does Muster begin to lose his composure. We come to see that his pursuit of success has taken a toll: He has alienated his wife and his son, mistreated his business partner, and sacrificed parts of his character in the exercise of power. "So often, even when I was most concentrated on making things happen according to my plan, when I was at the peak of my form . . . a terrible longing would come over me for a different life."

And a chance meeting with his first love, a woman who inspired pure, more poetic feelings, forces him to confront this potential "different life" once again. But as Muster cautions us, these reflections are "not purely a case of terminal sentimentalism." Begley is determined not to allow us the easy pleasures of feeling pity for, or moral superiority to, Muster; rather, he forces us to accept Muster on his own terms, his faults a necessary part of his achievement.

All this does not add up to a passionate or challenging work of fiction. Reading with sympathy, one can see Begley's attitude as Horatian, a calm survey of life's pleasures and inevitable toils. (Muster, like other Begley narrators, is given to classical quotations and allusions.) Reading more skeptically, one can wonder whether there is not a large dose of wish-fulfillment at the heart of "Mister's Exit" — after all, this hero is not only tasteful, rich, and powerful, but he has the knock of getting younger women into bed, almost without asking. Edith Wharton wrote about her privileged world with understanding but without complacency; Begley seems almost too fond of his. All this means that "Mister's Exit" avoids the largest rewards and strongest pleasures of the novel, choosing instead to create a small, charmed circle, in which we are allowed to wander for a few hundred pages. But most likely Muster — and Begley — would not have it any other way.

Adam Kirsch, literary assistant at the New Republic, wrote this for The Washington Post.

BRIDGE

By Alan Truscott

AFTER a day of intense drama only one American team remained with a chance to win gold medals at the world championships.

The team headed by Bart Brantley, and including Sidney Lazard, Howard Weinstein, Steve Garner, Bill Pollack and Drew Casen, who barely qualified from the preliminary stage, reached the semifinal of the Vivendi Rosenblum Open Teams, beating a Danish team by 67 imps.

In another quarterfinal, a British team lost by eight imps to a Swedish team

headed by Magnus Lindqvist was inverted, which as a suit and give South his ninth

in a match that hinged on the final deal. Another Swedish team lost by 26 to Brazil. In

the fourth match, Italy beat the Netherlands by 51. In the semifinal, Sweden plays Brazil and Italy plays Bramley.

In the Louis Vuitton McConnell Cup for Women's Teams both American teams suffered semifinal defeats.

Carol Sanders and her team lost by 16 to Austria, while Germany surged strongly to the finish to beat Nadine Wood and her team by 48.

Pollack made an unusual play in bringing home three no-trump in today's match. His partner's two-club bid

passed hand suggested 10 to 12 points. A major-suit lead would have been helpful, but West chose the diamond four, using a method in which an even spot card shows an even number of cards in the suit. This was ducked to the king, and East returned the suit.

South won with dummy's ace and led a club to the king. Before playing a second club, he carefully cashed the diamond queen, establishing a winner for West. Then he led a second club to the queen. East won and played a heart, but when South ducked, West was enveloped.

He could score his last diamond, but then he had to lead a major.

Neither side was vulnerable. The

West North East South

Pass Pass Pass 1 NT

Pass 2 NT Pass 2 NT

Pass Pass Pass

West led the diamond four.

CROSSWORD

ACROSS
1 Money in a wallet
5 Playbill listing
9 "Pooch"
14 Elbow-wrist connection
15 Mixed bag
16 Florida city
17 Down Under toy
18 Comedian Richard
20 Finalize, with "up"
21 Prefix with cycle
22 Bears witness (to)
24 Country west of Togo
25 "— do you do?"
26 Make the rounds in a police car
29 Haphazardly
30 Assumed name
33 Unseen
35 Russian pianist, with "the"
36 Wine
38 Place for a plane
39 — item (seize the day): Lat.
40 Upgrade from a tropical storm
42 Flying saucer
43 Daniel Frank
44 Distinct
45 Molson's and Coors, e.g.
46 Rolling stones lack it
47 Place for a fisherman
48 Brainbusting (airmail label)
49 Oust from authority
50 Droopy-eyed
51 Engine head
52 Part of a flight
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EUROPE

West Holds Breath Awaiting Bosnia Moderate's Showing in VoteBy Mike O'Connor
New York Times Service**BANJA LUKA**, Bosnia-Herzegovina — Bosnia voted over the weekend in elections that were the most tension-free since the war, and in many ways the most important.

All offices above the level of municipal council were at stake.

Beyond that, for the first time since the 43-month war, there is a real contest between the still very powerful nationalist forces who led this country to disaster and more moderate politicians backed by the West and a growing number of Bosnians who want to end strife.

The outcome of the balloting — the second national elections since the war ended in 1995 — is crucial to Western peace efforts. If Bosnian Serb hardliners were to defeat the politician the West considers key to its strategy for

stabilizing Bosnia, many diplomats say, Western efforts would, for all practical purposes, have failed.

"We may have little alternative to scaling back our efforts to something modest, for the sake of appearance and to keep a lid on another war, while we turn our attention to problems elsewhere," said a ranking European diplomat.

The politician in question, the Bosnian Serb president, Biljana Plavšić, is in a tight race against a hard-line nationalist coalition. Even if she retains her office, she could still lose room to cooperate with the West if her opponents get a majority in the Bosnian Serb legislature.

The prospect of drastically scaling back a massive reform project by Western governments — with Washington supplying the single greatest amount of money, troops, diplomats and technical experts — may reflect on the limits of diplomacy as well as the difficulties of

imposing changes in the Balkans.

Most foreign officials involved in the effort in Bosnia say that great progress has been made but warn that the country would begin to slide back toward disaster if the current level of international pressure is reduced.

Some international officials here say one election defeat could not stop Western efforts or break the growing spirit of reconciliation in many Bosnians. But many Western diplomats say they doubt their governments would have either the stamina for or the interest in a continued large-scale operation if they are handed a serious debacle like a political comeback by hard-line Bosnian Serbs.

The elections Saturday and Sunday — with first results expected Tuesday — were for both halves of the country, the Bosnian Serb republic and the Muslim-Croat Federation.

But the office the West considers the

most important is held by Mrs. Plavšić, president of the Bosnian Serb half, called Republika Srpska.

Mrs. Plavšić, with much Western help, has wrested power from a hard-line party founded by Radovan Karadžić, a war crimes suspect and the wartime leader of the Bosnian Serbs. In the last year, with Western backing, she was able to name a prime minister and other officials who were far more cooperative in implementing Western policies and easing tensions among Serbs, Muslims and Croats.

The strategy of the West has been to marginalize hard-line nationalist political leaders of all three ethnic groups. The more moderate nationalism of the current Bosnian Serb government has also toned down the rhetoric of many of the candidates in the Muslim-Croat Federation.

Mrs. Plavšić, an ardent nationalist who has swung toward pragmatic cooperation with the West in part because

the resulting flow of aid benefits Serbs, has moved the most toward becoming someone with whom foreign officials could work in their quest for a unified, democratic country.

Only that kind of Bosnia, foreign officials say, could protect ethnic minorities and enable more than 2 million people to return to the homes from which they were expelled during the war.

But with her hard-line opponents running very close to her in opinion surveys and a large number of undecided voters, her victory was in question.

Last year, when Mrs. Plavšić split from Mr. Karadžić and other Bosnian Serb politicians who started the war, her government suddenly became the favorite of international donors.

The previous Bosnian Serb government had been denied almost all aid in hopes the electorate would change the leaders. When rebuilding began in the other half of Bosnia, Republika Srpska remained an isolated place with almost no jobs, scarce electricity or water and an average monthly income of about \$50.

Under Mrs. Plavšić, matters changed almost immediately. The United States alone promised about \$75 million in aid this year. About a third of the budget of Republika Srpska, and much of the income of its citizens, comes from foreign countries, international officials say.

"We've played all the cards: the money, the advice, the pressure," a European official said. "We have done everything my country has learned to do in 200 years of meddling in other countries. I still wonder if it is enough to achieve what we want."

The 1995 Dayton accords, brokered by the United States in 1995, created a national government, overseen by a three-person presidency. In order to protect the interests of the principal ethnic groups, Serbs, Muslims and Croats each elect a member of the presidency. The national government also has a legislature.

Republika Srpska and the federation, called entities, each have a legislature and are semi-autonomous. The national government is restricted to matters such as foreign relations and international trade.

The main Muslim party, the Party of Democratic Action, is expected to easily return its candidate, Alija Izetbegović, to the presidency, and to retain control of the federal legislature.

Most Croats support the Croatian Democratic Union. It is dominated by nationalists opposed to unifying with the rest of Bosnia and by the ruling party in Croatia. Partly because of Western efforts, the union split this summer, when the Croatian member of the presidency, Krešimir Zubak, formed his own party. Mr. Zubak has taken a more moderate line. But while he was running for the presidency, his opponent, from his old party, was considered likely to win.

German Greens Pressed on Radical

BONN — The Greens faced pressure Sunday to dump a prominent politician who has admitted that he channeled money for years to a left-wing terrorist suspect.

The Free Democrats, a party in the governing coalition of Chancellor Helmut Kohl, urged the Greens to withdraw Daniel Cohn-Bendit, a former leftist radical, from his seat in the European Parliament. A lawmaker from the opposition Social Democrats had called for an inquiry into Mr. Cohn-Bendit's links with Hans-Joachim Klein, who was arrested in a French café last week after 22 years on the run. (AP)

Greek Cypriots Make Pilgrimage

NICOSIA — More than 1,200 Greek Cypriots made an emotionally charged pilgrimage to a remote Greek Orthodox monastery in the Turkish Cypriot section of the ethnically divided island of Cyprus on Sunday.

The monastery has special religious significance, but many of the Greek Cypriots appeared equally conscious of the political significance. "It signifies the desire of Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots to mingle, even under controlled conditions," observed a Greek Cypriot judge. (Reuters)

Tuscan Police Find Gold in Flowerpots

ROME — The police confiscated 150 gold bars worth \$1.7 million hidden in flowerpots at the Tuscan villa of Licio Gelli, the leading white-collar fugitive in Italy.

Mr. Gelli was arrested in the French Riviera resort of Cannes on Thursday, four months after he had escaped from Italian justice. (Reuters)

For the Record

A major Austrian bank, Creditanstalt, said it had held "constructive" talks in New York to resolve claims by Holocaust survivors. (AP)

Dutch Shame On Srebrenica ResurfacesBy Marlise Simons
New York Times Service**AMSTERDAM** — The Dutch like to think of themselves as model international citizens.

They are generous with foreign aid, they take in many refugees from far-off political conflicts and they play host to two world courts in The Hague. They also consider it their duty to take part in international peacekeeping operations.

Yet today the Dutch find this upstanding image of themselves tainted by a fresh wave of public accusations that their peacekeepers who served in the eastern Bosnian town of Srebrenica were witnesses and unwitting accomplices to the worst massacre of civilians in the Bosnian war.

The killing by Serbs of more than 7,000 unarmed Muslim men happened in July 1995. But the horror still haunts the Dutch. The lingering sense of anger and shame at their own role has surfaced again in recent weeks.

The fact that the Dutch soldiers were unable to prevent the killings in the enclave, which was under UN protection, was extensively reported at the time, and caused widespread distress here.

The main question asked here was: Could their soldiers have saved more lives? The Bosnian Serb soldiers carried out their organized killings almost within earshot of the Dutch.



A U.S. soldier of the NATO-led peacekeeping force guarding a road near Brcko linking voting stations Sunday.

Investigations by the war crimes tribunal in The Hague and by the Dutch Defense Ministry cleared the Dutch peacekeepers of any wrongdoing.

The investigators reported that the Dutch contingent had been whittled down to 310 lightly armed soldiers who were short of fuel, vehicles and ammunition, and overrun by the Bosnian Serbs, could no longer protect tens of thousands of refugees. Also, air cover promised by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization never materialized.

But this summer, fresh evidence appeared, providing new and, at times, disturbing details.

There was further outrage recently when two Dutch tanks stolen by Bosnian Serbs in Srebrenica were identified among armor used in a Serbian offensive against ethnic Albanian villagers in Kosovo province.

The disclosure that has evoked most anger in the press and in Parliament was that on the night of July 11, 1995, as the Dutch peacekeepers were under Serb attack, one unit fled its post in a light tank and plowed through a cluster of armed Muslims who were trying to block their flight.

The tank ran over and crushed an unknown number of people, a Dutch television station reported, quoting an unidentified military official.

According to another news program, a critical report prepared by the Dutch military police, which included soldiers' testimony about this and other disturbing events was suppressed by the Defense Ministry.

Further, Ron Rutten, a peacekeeper, renewed his allegations that the Defense Ministry had deliberately bungled the development of his film showing nine

Muslim bodies by a stream in the so-called safe area.

The film, he said, was evidence that the killings began while the Dutch were still present. The photographs included images, he said, in which Dutch soldiers were seen helping the Serb military separate women and men. Many of the men were killed in the days that followed.

As in previous debates on the Srebrenica episode, newspapers and television broadcasts have been filled with angry commentaries.

They convey the message that the fall of Srebrenica, while not the defining event of the war, was its greatest single atrocity and that the Dutch, because of their presence in the area, bear part of the shame.

Srebrenica, the historian Jos Palm said, was the nation's "greatest postwar trauma."

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China's Hot Topic: Political Reform

As Jiang Loosens the Controls, an Open Debate Takes Off

By John Pomfret
Washington Post Service

BEIJING — Every Saturday in a cramped office on the northern outskirts of Beijing, a group of about 20 scholars, journalists, students, interested passersby and a secret agent or two gather to ponder big questions about China's future.

One recent week, they considered the necessity for major political reform. On another Saturday they cogitated on the course of China's economic reforms. Conclusion? China needs major political reform. Next week's topic? More political reform.

The sometimes rousing debates that erupt weekly in the 12th-floor offices of the China Development Union mirror scores of discussions all over China's capital these days — in research institutes, bookstores, universities and even the hallowed halls of the State Council and the Communist Party itself. For the first time since 1989, when a crackdown on student-led protests around Tiananmen Square silenced a generation clamoring for change, political reform is a hot topic in China.

A wide variety of scholars and activists credits President Jiang Zemin with allowing a loosening of the political straitjacket that choked off such debate in the years following June 4, 1989. Emerging from the shadow of Deng Xiaoping, China's senior leader who died last year, Mr. Jiang has worked to fashion an image of a kinder China: one open to reason and argument from the West.

Western diplomats contend that it has been Mr. Jiang's exposure to the Western world, most notably his weeklong stay in the United States last October for his first summit with President Bill Clinton, that has prompted him to at least tolerate debate on political change. Mr. Jiang's decision to allow Mr. Clinton to

speak live to the Chinese people twice during his return summit in late June was a prime example of the Chinese president's willingness to broach sensitive political subjects, they say.

China is also currently playing host to Mary Robinson, head of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, in the first visit of a leading rights official from the world body to China — another sign of China's willingness to engage in open dialogue on delicate matters.

Others have argued that China's internal problems, its vast army of laid-off workers and the simmering discontent among its urban populace at ostentatious corruption have prompted the Communist Party to seek ways to let steam out of China's pressure cooker.

Merle Goldman, one of the preeminent scholars of China's dissident movement, wrote in a recent study that "if China's leaders have learned any lesson from June 4, it should be that gradual movement toward building political institutions" will give "disaffected elements" in society "a way to express their views so that they will not have to resort to destabilizing demonstrations and mass protests in order to air their grievances and get redress."

Despite the loosening, no one here believes that democracy is about to pop up in China. Chinese police still routinely arrest dissidents and hassle journalists. A Western observer, discussing the intellectual ferment in the capital, casually noted that he expected the Communist Party to dominate politics for the next 20 years.

Xu Youyu, a philosopher at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences who recently published a treatise calling for liberalism in China, acknowledged that he and his followers have no concrete program for political change in China. "It's too early," he said. Mr. Xu and other Chinese intellec-

tuals caution that the current freedom to debate has not surpassed the heady days of 1988 and early 1989 when change was in the air. Still, they acknowledge that 10 years of economic reforms and exposure to Western thought have transformed the Chinese.

The level of debate is more sophisticated. No longer are discussions modeled on Cultural Revolution struggle sessions where white is white and black is black; Chinese intellectuals are starting to embrace the grays of evolutionary change.

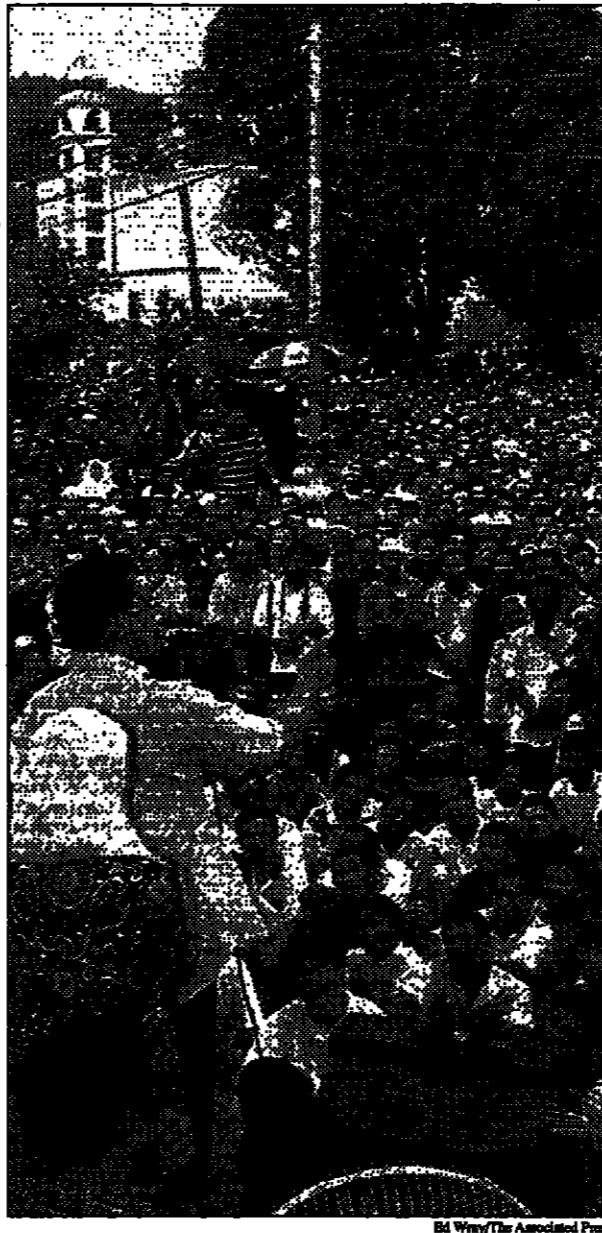
Hot topics these days revolve around the possible. In 1988, the talk was of splitting the government and the party. That soon died. These days the talk is of limiting and exposing police brutality — perhaps more attainable.

Ten years ago, some newspapers — like Shanghai's now defunct *World Economic Herald* — pushed the envelope under the protection of liberal party factions. These days the press is restless not so much because it is backed by political schemers but because editors realize that scoops sell papers.

A closer look at the China Development Union underscores some of the ambiguities of the current debate.

The organization is registered under the China Cultural Exchange Co., which, according to Chinese sources, is associated with the Ministry of State Security. Why would a research institute that appears to be advocating political change be linked with one of China's most feared organs of state control?

"There are three possibilities," said a Western observer. "Either it's a stooge for the government, a kind of 'Hundred Flowers' operation designed to lure out government critics so they can be identified. It also could be a real organization dedicated to political change. Then again it could be a combination, a little of both."



Anwar Ibrahim, the recently fired deputy prime minister of Malaysia, speaking to 10,000 people in Penang Province on the first stop of his nationwide tour.



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Ousted No. 2 Tours Malaysia to Cheers

Thousands Defy Law to Hear Him

By Thomas Fuller
International Herald Tribune

ALOR SETAR, Malaysia — There is a law in Malaysia that no more than four people can congregate in public without a police permit.

Anwar Ibrahim, who until two weeks ago was the country's second most powerful politician, clearly broke that law over the weekend, crisscrossing the country and greeting tens of thousands of supporters in what was his first trip outside the capital since being dismissed as deputy prime minister earlier this month.

"I think this is the beginning of something," said Wahab Long, a businessman who came to see Mr. Anwar speak in his hometown of Cerok Tok Kun, one of three stops on the former deputy prime minister's itinerary. "This is the beginning of not being afraid."

Prime Minister Mahathir bin Mohamad, who dismissed Mr. Anwar two weeks ago, has said that Mr. Anwar is courting arrest by giving night speeches to his supporters.

"If he disrupts public order, we will take action," Mr. Mahathir said Saturday.

That did not seem to hold back the crowds over the weekend. At Mr. Anwar's second stop on Saturday — a mosque and religious school in the northern state of Kedah — mosque officials estimated the crowd at 60,000 to 80,000 people.

Mr. Anwar was hoarse and looked exhausted leaving the mosque in the early hours of Sunday morning.

"They said I only have support in the urban quarters," he said, walking down the steps of the mosque. "This is a pure rural setting, and you can see the enthusiasm."

The turnout was all the more surprising because it took place in Mahathir territory: the mosque is just a few kilometers from the birthplace and constituency of the prime minister.

Thousands of supporters converged by car and motorcycle on the obscure religious school situated on a dark and narrow road far from any major town. Without any significant police presence or organization, supporters got stuck in heavy traffic and abandoned their cars in the middle of the road.

Guided often only by starlight, a crowd of thousands of people walked 8 kilometers (5 miles) in the dark, weaving to avoid the abandoned cars and motor scooters.

It was a somewhat surreal pilgrimage that had Mr. Anwar's wife, Wan Azizah, stumbling for words to describe it.

"I think this phenomenon is unseen before in Malaysia," she said, rolling down the window of car before leaving the mosque.

Mr. Amir, 26, a rice farmer from a nearby village, said most of the people he knows support Mr. Anwar. "Anwar has more credibility than Mahathir because of his knowledge of Islam," he said.

Until he was fired, Mr. Anwar was Mr. Mahathir's anointed successor. His sudden ouster two weeks ago on the grounds of "bad morals" left Mr. Mahathir, 73, without a clear successor.

Mr. Anwar is currently under investigation for a series of crimes including sedition and treason.

Many people who came to listen to Mr. Anwar speak said they could not believe that a man who was deputy prime minister of the country one day could all of a sudden be under investigation for so many allegations.

"If you accuse someone you must have strong evidence," said a civil servant attending the rally. "In the coffee shop people say this is nonsense." Mr. Mahathir said Saturday that Malaysians would understand why Mr. Anwar was dismissed as soon as Mr. Anwar's case is heard in court. "A lot more things will be exposed," he said.

BRIEFLY

Cambodians March in Protest

PHNOM PENH — Thousands of protesters calling for the removal of Prime Minister Hun Sen braved a heavy crackdown Sunday and marched through the capital to cheer from residents, who threw them food and honked car horns in support.

But as night fell, bursts of gunfire rang out in the vicinity of the U.S. Embassy, where many of the marchers had ended up. At least one man, a motorcycle driver, was hit in the leg by several bullets. The gunfire appeared to come from supporters of Mr. Hun Sen and their allies, the riot police.

The enthusiastic response for the protesters contrasted with indifference and muted insults given earlier in the day to a larger crowd of Hun Sen supporters. (AP)

Burma Activist Is Threatened

BANGKOK — The vice chairman of the National League for Democracy, the political party of the Burmese dissident Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, was threatened with arrest in an article that appeared in a government-run newspaper Sunday.

The New Light of Myanmar newspaper said that U Tin Oo had violated the terms of his 1995 parole from prison and would have to serve out the remainder of his sentence if he continued to violate laws.

The National League for Democracy said earlier this week that the military had arrested 702 of its members since May; more than half the arrests took place this week as the government sought to prevent the party from convening Parliament. The league won 82 percent of the seats in a 1990 election the military refused to honor. (AP)

For the Record

Water levels in Bangladesh dropped further on Sunday, taking more pressure off a key embankment protecting more than one million people on the eastern fringe of the capital, Dhaka, officials said. But the death toll after more than two months of flooding rose to 950 with 70 people believed drowned. (Reuters)

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INTERNATIONAL

Another Shooting in Tehran Adds to Tensions

By Douglas Jehl

New York Times Service

TEHRAN — Gunmen attempted to shoot a powerful Iranian official on Sunday, firing into his office window.

The shooting added to uneasiness as tensions mounted between Iran and Afghanistan over the slaying by Taliban troops of Iranian diplomats.

The official, Mohsen Rafiqdoust, was reported by Iranian news agencies to have escaped serious injury.

The gunmen opened fire from hills overlooking Mr. Rafiqdoust's office in a high-rise building, the headquarters of a state foundation aiding victims of the Iran-Iraq conflict in the early 1980s.

The attempt to kill the sometime head of the Revolutionary Guards was the

latest in a series of assaults on prominent Iranians, including the slaying last month of a former prison director, Asadollah Lajevardi.

At the same time, Iranian attention remained fixed on Afghanistan as the militant Islamic Taliban movement was reported to have captured the central Afghan city of Bamyan, the last major stronghold held by the Iranian-backed opposition militia.

At least nine Iranian diplomats were killed by Taliban fighters when the town of Mazar-i-Sharif was overrun last month. Iran warned that a Taliban victory in Bamyan might be followed by

Iran's top security body said Saturday that the country had the right to take "every appropriate action" to ensure peace and security.

The internal and external developments were given prominence on Iranian news broadcasts, which featured

video footage of a broken window in Mr. Rafiqdoust's office and claims by anti-Taliban forces that Pakistani warplanes had attacked Bamyan as part of the Taliban assault.

There was no clear link between the attack on Mr. Rafiqdoust and the tensions with Afghanistan.

No one had claimed responsibility for the assassination attempt by evening. But most of the recent terrorist attacks, including the murder of Mr. Lajevardi, have been carried out by a single Islamic opposition group, the Mujahideen Khal.

Still, the latest attack, which targeted the heavily-guarded compound of Iran's richest and most powerful government foundation, could give new ammunition to Iranians pressing for confrontation



Mohamed Sayyad/Associated Press

Foreign Minister Ismail Cem of Turkey, left, meeting President Mohammad Khatami on Sunday in Tehran to begin three days of talks.

with the Taliban. Even before Sunday, the unusual intensity of recent violence in Tehran, including two bombings, prompted a wave of finger-pointing in the press.

Commentators have asserted that such attacks could have been conducted only from the Taliban-controlled territory of Afghanistan, along the eastern frontier of Iran.

BRIEFLY

Saudi Crown Prince Begins World Tour

RIYADH — Crown Prince Abdullah ibn Abdulaziz traveled Sunday to London at the start of a world tour that will also take him to France, the United States, Japan, China, South Korea and Pakistan.

Prince Abdullah, in a departure statement carried by the official news agency SPA, said his tour would aim to clear up "misunderstandings over Islam, which rejects fanaticism and racism."

"What is happening today on the international and Islamic scene is very serious," said the prince, referring to acts of violence by Islamic militants. "The religion of more than one billion Muslims is in the dock."

(AFP)

Sailor Who Seized Sub Kills Himself

MOSCOW — An armed commando who seized a Russian nuclear-powered submarine after killing eight of his fellow crew members committed suicide late Friday night, the Defense Ministry said on Saturday.

A spokesman confirmed Russian news agency reports that the sailor, Alexander Kuzminykh, 19, killed himself at 11:45 P.M. Moscow time. He gave no further details.

Mr. Kuzminykh had barricaded himself in the torpedo room of the submarine at the Sevastopol base near the Arctic port of Murmansk on Friday morning.

(Reuters)

Amazon Fire Threat

RIO DE JANEIRO — A year after the Brazilian government dismissed studies warning that parts of the Amazon rain forest were becoming so dry they could burn uncontrollably, fires have become a greater threat than ever to areas of intact rain forest and to indigenous peoples, according to environmental groups that monitor the Amazon.

The fires are set by ranchers and farmers to clear land for grazing and planting, but are burning out of control at an alarming rate, environmental groups say, due in large part to the drying effect of El Niño.

Last year, 7,800 square miles (20,300 square kilometers) of Amazon rain forest caught fire, the Woods Hole Institute in Massachusetts said.

(NYT)

In Germany, a Business-Led Agenda

By Alan Cowell

New York Times Service

BONN — This country's most important election in decades will take place Sept. 27, and the striking thing is this: Whoever wins will inherit a land where the pace has already been set for them, not so much by politicians as by the barons of big business.

Almost nine years after the fall of the Berlin Wall, that is not entirely a surprise: As in the United States or Britain, ideology has lost its primacy, yielding to a contest among rival politicians to define and capture the post-ideological center.

But in Germany, there is another departure as well. This has long been the land of the cartel, of compacts and con-

GERMANY: A Small Boost for Kohl

Continued from Page 1

During the campaign, Mr. Stoiber rarely uttered Mr. Kohl's name and emphasized his proud stewardship of Bavaria's flourishing economy. He touted Bavaria as "the champion of Germany" and stressed it enjoyed the country's lowest unemployment, highest investment in new technologies and the best education system.

Mr. Schroeder complimented Mr. Stoiber on his achievements and insisted that the Bavarian results should offer no consolation for Mr. Kohl because he had virtually no impact in the campaign.

"This was a state election that met my expectations if not my hopes," Mr. Schroeder said. "But I'm sure the result of the federal election will look different because the issue will be whether or not we want to keep a burned-out chancellor in power."

The Christian Social Union has governed Bavaria with an absolute majority since 1962 and has been part of every

sensus that brought workers into the boardrooms and, at the same time, bound banks and businesses and politicians of all stripes in a sheltered environment of enormous prosperity.

But the compact was undermined by a huge and costly social network that gradually hampered Germany's competitiveness. And

these days, many large companies have simply decided to pursue their own interests within and beyond Germany's borders, often supplanting the politicians in framing the way Germans and foreigners alike perceive the German nation.

Consider, for example, U.S.-German relations, which were once propelled by a contest among rival politicians to define and capture the post-ideological center.

postwar government. Political commentators said dropping below the 50 percent threshold would have dealt a crushing blow to the party's prestige and to Mr. Kohl's re-election chances.

But Mr. Stoiber's antagonistic relationship with the chancellor over the years leaves open doubts about whether Mr. Kohl will benefit personally from the Christian Social Union's victory. Apart from his dismay about the devaluation of the Deutsche mark, the Bavarian leader has often disagreed with Mr. Kohl's government policies and has promoted himself as a potential successor.

Early returns showed the Greens would maintain their position as the state's third biggest party and score slightly above the 5 percent mark required to be represented in the assembly. The Free Democrats, who are allied with the Christian Democrats in the national government, fell to one of their worst-ever results and will hold no seats.

curity considerations; if Germany prospered, it was as an ally and a showcase of capitalism under the U.S. economic as well as nuclear umbrella.

But by May, the relationship had clearly taken on a new flavor: the takeover of Chrysler by Daimler-Benz showed a German assertiveness that had long been held in check. "This is clearly the result of the end of the Cold War and the globalized economy," a legislator in Bonn said.

The trans-Atlantic relationship, in which many politicians still tread gently as the deferential junior partner to Washington's military and political initiatives, has been retextured by the unmistakable whiff of German economic might. Key players in the New York publishing industry are owned by Germany's media giants; in recent years, German investment in the United States has created 600,000 American jobs and the figure is growing, according to the German Embassy in Washington.

In this land of export-driven prosperity, many companies have long seen their markets far beyond their borders. Bertelsmann, the media giant, does 70 percent of its business outside Germany; two-thirds of Daimler-Benz's annual revenue was earned outside Germany last year, and more than one-third of its stock is held by foreign investors.

Volkswagen now owns auto companies from the Czech Republic to Spain, BMW owns Britain's Rover and between the two of them, the companies just carved up Rolls-Royce and Bentley.

This, then, is the landscape in which Germany's politicians and business executives operate today — a landscape in which big business is far more prepared to take the initiative, leaving politicians to play catch-up.

German companies "are responding to the exigencies of the market and they are doing it rather late in the game," said Josef Joffe, a senior commentator at the newspaper *Suddeutsche Zeitung* in Munich.

But, he said, there was an underlying pattern: "Big business is separating from the state and proceeding on its own path. What these firms are saying is 'We are going to follow our own interests and therefore going our own way.'"

Another way to look at the change is through the lens of European unity. This goal began as a politicians' dream, but today the vision is being realized by the money men. A vast single market is in place, and it moves toward a single currency in particular are inspiring German companies to seek economies of scale on a Europe-wide platform.

This, in turn, has led them to take a sometimes vocal stake in their new hosts' business — and politics.



A boy in Bavaria watching his father vote Sunday in Nesselwang. The state elections gave Chancellor Helmut Kohl a boost nationally.

When the German-owned Rover car company in Britain announced plans to reduce its work force by 1,500 people this summer, a German executive bluntly told the British government that the layoffs were a direct result of British economic policy, as if he had a rightful claim to a voice in shaping it. It was a claim no German statesman would have thought to make, at least in public.

It is no surprise, either, that, in all of Europe, Germany has made at stake in Russia's crisis. History and geography may condemn Berlin and Moscow to tug central Europe between them, but the bottom line this time really is a bottom line: German banks have some \$30 billion in state-guaranteed credits threatened by Russia's tailspin. That exposure — and Germany's reluctance to extend it — dominates German policy.

Of course, the exposure itself is a hangover from the close relationship between politicians and big money. In the early 1990s, Chancellor Helmut Kohl encouraged banks to lend in an overoptimistic effort to cement Russia's lurch into market-driven democracy. As a result, some 90 percent of the loans are backed by state guarantees.

But now, faced with the Russian meltdown, the bottom line has reassured itself. Without reforms in Moscow, Mr. Kohl said, "it will not be possible to mobilize money either from international financial organizations or from Germany."

And within Germany the likely consequences of Germany's international corporatism have left politicians feeling queasy that, as a former auto executive remarked, "politics has lost the primacy."

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(NYT)

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Palestinians
And Israelis
Still Far Apart

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

ALEXANDRIA, Egypt — Dennis Ross, the U.S. Middle East envoy, said Sunday that a wide gap still existed between the Israelis and the Palestinians.

Mr. Ross met with President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt near the port city of Alexandria to update him on his latest talks with the Palestinian leader, Yasir Arafat, and Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel.

"I would say at this point that there are still many issues that have to be worked through on all the parts of our initiative," Mr. Ross said at a joint news conference with the Egyptian foreign minister, Amr Moussa.

He said there were areas where "some progress was made, but there are also other areas where there are differences that have to be overcome." He did not elaborate.

His meetings with Mr. Arafat and Mr. Netanyahu came against a tense backdrop of clashes between Palestinians and Israeli forces after Israel's killing of two wanted Hamas fugitives.

The Palestinians claimed that the killings were timed to doom Mr. Ross's mission.

Mr. Mousa criticized the killings and urged restraint on both sides. He said, however, the necessary "calm atmosphere cannot come only with a Palestinian commitment, but should also be an Israeli one, particularly where extremist settlers are concerned."

Talks between Israel and the Palestinians stalled more than a year and a half ago after Israel announced that



Israeli soldiers turning back Palestinians trying to get to work Sunday at a roadblock near Bethlehem. The West Bank and the Gaza Strip were closed after Israeli forces killed two Hamas fugitives.

it was going ahead with construction of a new Jewish neighborhood in Arab east Jerusalem.

The two sides have been haggling over the American initiative.

Egypt, which signed a peace treaty with Israel in 1979, has been a mediator in Middle East peace negotiations.

Mr. Ross left later for Jerusalem.

Mr. Netanyahu, meanwhile, warned on Sunday of severe reprisals if Hamas carried out bomb attacks to avenge the killings of two of its leading militants.

"Israel will respond severely if Hamas goes ahead with its threat to carry out large scale attacks," Mr. Netanyahu told a cabinet meeting, as Israeli police went on top alert across the country.

Israel has sealed off the West Bank and the Gaza Strip amid fears of attacks by Hamas, which has killed scores of Israelis in bomb attacks.

More than 100 Palestinians were hurt by Israeli gunfire during violent protests on the West Bank on Saturday against the killings, according to Palestinian sources.

(AP, AFP)

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Can Clinton Survive? / The View From Abroad

Lurid Washington Scandal Provides More Grist for International

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

LONDON — Newspapers around the world devoted extraordinary space Sunday to the crisis in Washington over lurid details of President Bill Clinton's encounters with former White House intern Monica Lewinsky.

Many editorial writers concluded that Mr. Clinton would remain in office, despite what the independent counsel Kenneth Starr says is a raft of impeachable offenses. "More than ever, the Comeback Kid seems determined to fight," the French weekly *Journal du Dimanche* headlined.

"More perhaps than any politician in history, he has the guile and stamina" to survive, opined The Sunday Telegraph of London. "But if he does, it will be a victory for the political art rather than a victory for honor."

In contrast, the English-language *South China Morning Post* in Hong Kong said that "the time has come for Bill Clinton to stop apologizing and resign himself to the fact that his fight for survival has reached its end."

Many abhorred the graphic detail in Mr. Starr's report. The major Japanese daily *Asahi Shimbun* called it "vivid and disgusting" and bemoaned the damage done to the U.S. president at a

time when world leadership is needed. "President Clinton's sex scandal has none of the political aspects of Watergate," the paper said, but concluded that "if this damages the credibility of American politics as well as the leadership of President Clinton, it can no longer be treated as a personal problem."

In an editorial titled "Hell is American," the French center-left daily *Le Monde*, which ran a 16-page supplement, called the Starr investigation a "new McCarthyism, in which the panicked fear of communism is replaced by the fear of sexuality."

It was the question weighed on editorial pages, in government offices and in on-line forums around the globe, as analysts sought to assess the impact of the Starr report on world markets, politics and psyches.

The salacious details of Mr. Clinton's exploits gave headline writers a field day. "Sex, Lies and Impeachment" and "Comeback Kid Plots Moves in Last Chance Saloon" were two of the headlines in The Times of London. "Cigar Sex, Phone Sex, Pizza Sex" read the triple-decker on the front page of The Sun, the most-read daily in Britain.

But much of the world's press and many international leaders approached

the uproar with almost funeral somberness. In a season of international economic gloom, financial and political meltdown in Russia, heightened nuclear anxiety in South Asia, terrorism and war

in Africa and growing uncertainty about the future on every continent, many eyes had looked to the only remaining superpower to maintain some semblance of stability. Now that hope is diminished.

"There is no doubt that a weakened presidency, its energy to deal with global issues sapped, is bad news for the world," The Straits Times in Singapore said.

Chancellor Helmut Kohl of Germany, fighting for re-election, took time out from campaigning to warn: "It is of the utmost importance that the only world power fully live up to its duties."

The overriding concern for many is the potential impact of instability in Washington on already uneasy economies.

"Who can see clearly when a sexual virtuous intern in the White House weighs more heavily on the markets than the economic achievements of whole countries and regions?" asked the largest daily newspaper in Hungary, *Nepszabadsag*.

And in Mexico, where the stock market and peso have reached all-time lows in the past several days, the Mexico City daily *La Jornada* — in an editorial headlined "Justice, morality, politics, business" — fretted that the Mexican economy could crumble even further because of "a very peculiar combination of a strict respect for justice, a hypocritical moral puritanism and the revenge of a sector of the right."

In Russia, which has a collapsing economy and a crippled government and

where many said to have legislative but ignored. Even the three straightforward main newspaper

British tabloids were wallowing. *Ham Jefferson* identified of the United owned by the *co* Rupert Murdoch. *nasty gutter* w.

The scandal holds for some world lead Minister Keizo Obuchi, scheduled to make United States next w over the prospect of noring Mr. Obuchi a Clinton with question during a joint news c.

But Prime Minister Britain, who is also s with Mr. Clinton this the president as soon as report broke, spent 3 misinger with him and his spokesman informed of the supportive call.

POLITICAL

Clinton Supported By Black Caucus

WASHINGTON — Even as many Democrats on Capitol Hill distanced themselves from President Bill Clinton after the independent counsel's report, members of the Congressional Black Caucus have emerged as his most ardent defenders.

Nearly half of the 63 Democrats who voted against releasing the report by the independent counsel, Kenneth Starr, were caucus members angry that Republicans rejected the White House's request to review the report before it was made public.

Several black Democrats in the House of Representatives noted in interviews on Friday, for example, that when the House censured the speaker, Newt Gingrich, on ethics charges, he was allowed a week to review the report. (NYT)



Representative Maxine Waters supporting Mr. Clinton on Sunday.

representative would be able to carry out his duties to the full, a spokeswoman said, according to a Reuters report from Paris.

The two spoke for 30 minutes about various subjects, including Iraq, Russia and Kosovo, the spokeswoman, Catherine Colonna, said.

Mr. Chirac also stressed "his esteem and friendship for President Clinton in the personal ordeal he is going through."

"At a time when the world is confronted with serious political and financial uncertainty, it is essential for all of us that the president of the United States is able to carry out his duties fully," she quoted Mr. Chirac as saying.

For Some, Details Are Too Explicit

WASHINGTON — The explicit sexual details throughout Kenneth Starr's impeachment report fueled intense criticism of the special prosecutor in some quarters and prompted some House members to second-guess their decision to quickly release the report over the Internet.

By Friday afternoon, some of Mr. Clinton's harshest critics were regretting their votes that morning to publicize the report, wondering aloud whether they had helped release pornography over the Internet.

"I've probably never read anything this graphic before," said Representative Mark Souder, Republican of Indiana, a staunch conservative who has called for Mr. Clinton's resignation. "I don't think anyone in this country is comfortable with such detailed probing of someone's sex life."

"These graphic details should be taken off the Internet," said Representative Clay Shaw Jr., Republican of Florida, who had voted earlier to put the report on the Internet. "We shouldn't have it all out there for kids to read." (WP)

Primaries Tuesday

WASHINGTON — Americans in eight states and the District of Columbia will vote in primaries Tuesday, setting the stage for November midterm elections that could be heavily influenced by White House scandal.

The primaries will be held in Connecticut, Maryland, Massachusetts, Minnesota, New York, North Carolina, Rhode Island and the state of Washington. Candidates will be chosen for governor, Congress, state legislatures and lesser offices.

In the national capital, where the winner of the Democratic primary invariably wins, voters will effectively choosing their next mayor, to succeed Marion Barry. (Reuters)

Linda Tripp Faces Investigation by Starr

By George Lardner Jr.
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — Linda Tripp, whose tapes triggered the investigation that now endangers Bill Clinton's presidency, is herself under investigation by Kenneth Starr, the independent counsel.

Preliminary FBI tests of "several" of the tape recordings Ms. Tripp made of her telephone conversations with Monica Lewinsky show signs of having been duplicated, Mr. Starr said in his report to the House. Beyond that, Mr. Starr said, one of the apparently duplicated tapes "was produced by a recorder that was stopped and restarted during the recording process."

Ms. Tripp, who befriended Ms. Lewinsky at the Pentagon and then recorded the younger woman's accounts of her sexual encounters with the president, turned over 27 tapes to Mr. Starr in January, four of which proved to be

ingurable or blank. Ms. Tripp testified that the tapes she gave the independent counsel's office were the original recordings. She also testified that she knew nothing about any duplications, "though others had access to or control over the tapes at times before they were turned over," according to the report.

Since the FBI's preliminary findings raise questions about the reliability and authenticity of at least one recording, Mr. Starr said, they also "raise questions about the accuracy of Ms. Tripp's testimony regarding her handling of the tapes." He said his office was continuing to investigate the matter.

Ms. Tripp is already under investigation by a Maryland grand jury for possible violation of state law prohibiting the taping of telephone conversations without the consent of those being taped. She would not comment on Mr. Starr's report until she had a chance to read it, one of her lawyers, Joe Murtha, said Friday.

REBUTTAL: President's Lawyers Denounce Starr's 'Hit-and-Run Smear Campaign'

Continued from Page 1

oral sex performed on him was not included in the definition of sexual relations used in the Jones deposition. The fact that Mr. Starr's report disagreed with Mr. Clinton's "linguistic parsing" was not "the stuff of which criminal prosecutions — and surely impeachment proceedings — are made," the White House document said.

The fact that Mr. Clinton and Ms. Lewinsky disagreed on whether he touched her breasts and genitalia — actions that would fall under the definition of sexual relations in the Jones deposition — does not constitute perjury, his lawyers argued, because there is no evidence that Mr. Clinton "knowingly and intentionally gave false testimony."

On the issue of exchanging gifts and meetings alone, the president's lawyers say Mr. Clinton never flatly denied the possibility and said the independent counsel's office was upset simply because Mr. Clinton was not more forthcoming. Based on that standard, the president's lawyers said Mr. Clinton was never worried about the issue of gifts because "he frequently exchanges gifts with friends."

They also note that Ms. Lewinsky's

Where to Find the Reports on the Internet

Internet links to the full report by Kenneth Starr and two White House rebuttals are available at the *iht* web site: www.iht.com.

The reports and related text can also be found at www.washingtonpost.com and at www.nytimes.com.

testimony on the gift issue was contradicted by Betty Currie, the president's secretary, who retrieved some of those gifts from Ms. Lewinsky's apartment. The president did not direct or encourage Ms. Currie's activities regarding the gifts, "the White House rebound said.

The creation of a cover story to conceal an improper sexual relationship "is not unusual and not an obstruction of justice," the rebound said. The president never encouraged Ms. Lewinsky to lie, nor does the Starr report assert that Mr. Clinton urged her to file a false affidavit about their relationship in the Jones lawsuit, his attorneys said.

The Starr report included new information and assertions about the affair and the investigation. Among them:

• Mr. Clinton himself informed Ms. Lewinsky that she would be called as a witness in the Jones case during a 2 A.M. telephone call to her Watergate apartment on Dec. 17. She had appeared on a witness list provided to Mr. Clinton's lawyers on Dec. 5 and she would not be served with a subpoena until Dec. 19.

• Mr. Clinton met with his personal secretary, Betty Currie, on a second,

previously undisclosed occasion after his Jones deposition in which prosecutors said he appeared to be coaching her to agree with his false characterization of his relationship with Ms. Lewinsky. The president testified that he did not recall that meeting.

• Mr. Clinton asked the White House chief of staff, Erskine Bowles, to help provide a job reference for Ms. Lewinsky as late as January, shortly before the Starr investigation was launched.

• Mr. Clinton was told two weeks before he admitted to the affair that the star on a blue dress that Ms. Lewinsky provided authorities had in fact tested positive for semen. Investigators took a sample of Mr. Clinton's blood on Aug. 3 and it later matched the DNA on the dress.

Mr. Starr contends in the report that Mr. Clinton's knowledge that prosecutors possessed the DNA evidence spurred his decision to confess on Aug. 17.

The Starr report also alleged that Mr. Clinton's effort to help Ms. Lewinsky find a job in New York — and the involvement Vernon Jordan Jr., a friend and attorney, in that search — represented an obstruction of justice.

They decide not to seek another term; sometimes they seek one and lose. But they do not resign. Mr. Nixon was the sole exception in two centuries.

Presidents worry about precedents that might hobble their successors, and resignation by any president, like impeachment and conviction, sets a precedent by defining types of behavior that are unacceptable in the Oval Office. Mr. Clinton's lawyers and advisers express concerns not unlike that voiced at the height of the Watergate crisis by one of Mr. Nixon's defenders, Representative Charles Wiggins, who represented Mr. Nixon's former congressional district.

"Just what is abusive conduct?" Mr. Wiggins asked. "I suggest that it is an empty phrase, having meaning only in terms of what we pour into it."

By voting to impeach, he continued, the House would embed in our constitutional history for the first time, for the very first time, the principle that a president may be impeached because of

the view of Congress that he has abused his powers, although he may have acted in violation of no law."

In this president's case, there is another strong disincentive: Judging from the intensely prosecutorial tone of Mr. Starr's report to Congress, Mr. Clinton would almost certainly face immediate indictment on several counts.

The constitution is silent on the question of whether a sitting president may be indicted, and Mr. Starr has chosen not to test that issue.

Only a pardon would shield Mr. Clinton from indictment if he were to resign. If he decided to fight things out on Capitol Hill, on the other hand, he would have a chance of mustering enough votes to avoid impeachment or conviction, thereby clinging to office, however diminished his powers.

So any consideration of resignation would probably have to await a clearer picture of the president's chances of surviving the coming assault in Congress.

OPTIONS: As Clinton Waits for Public Opinion to Coalesce, Any Quick Steps Are Seen as Highly Unlikely

Continued from Page 1

Harried and humiliated, faced with months of political combat growing out of his involvement with Monica Lewinsky, dependent for his survival on Democratic legislators who fear for their political skins, Mr. Clinton would be superhuman if he did not even for a moment consider relinquishing the presidency.

His close friends say that's not his way. One intimate adviser says, "Look at his record; he never quits, even when it might make sense."

But they said exactly the same thing about Mr. Nixon a quarter-century ago.

Several senators and congressmen, mostly Republicans, have issued calls for his resignation, as have some major newspapers, including The Atlanta Constitution, The Denver Post, the Philadelphia Inquirer, and The Des Moines Register.

For the moment, the White House has settled on the all-guns-blazing approach. The White House press secretary, Mi-

chael McCurry, flatly ruled out resignation. Mr. Clinton himself said Friday, "I have authorized my lawyers to mount a vigorous defense, using all available appropriate grounds."

The report of the independent counsel, Kenneth Starr, report was described as a lurid attempt, motivated by pure partisanship, "to humiliate the president and force him from office."

Impeachment, they said, was intended only to punish "the most serious form of wrongdoing," and the president's sexual promiscuity was "personal, not impeachable."

They firmly rejected charges that Mr. Clinton had committed perjury, tampered with witnesses or obstructed justice.

In those contentions lies the heart of a defense that would make protracted, probably hotly partisan congressional proceedings inevitable. The question is,

How long will Mr. Clinton have the stomach for all of that? It would take a

heavy toll on him, his family, his staff, his party and his program.

If the president chooses to fight on, for a time or to the very end, his capacity to exercise the powers of the presidency would inevitably wane, as the fight with Congress absorbed his attention and his energies. At some point along the way, resignation might seem an increasingly appealing way out.

There are evident arguments in favor of resignation. It would stanch the bleeding, and let Mr. Clinton recover from his wounds. He would retain his pension and Secret Service protection and he would be entitled to government-paid staff, all of which he would lose if convicted by the Senate. He could buy himself out of a presidential library.

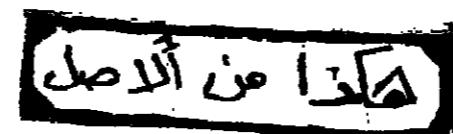
But resignation runs against the American grain. One of the things that sets U.S. government apart from parliamentary government is that presidents do not usually resign when they lose the confidence of the legislature. Sometimes

they decide not to seek another term; sometimes they seek one and lose. But they do not resign. Mr. Nixon was the sole exception in two centuries.

Presidents worry about precedents that might hobble their successors, and resignation by any president, like impeachment and conviction, sets a precedent by defining types of behavior that are unacceptable in the Oval Office. Mr. Clinton's lawyers and advisers express concerns not unlike that voiced at the height of the Watergate crisis by one of Mr. Nixon's defenders, Representative Charles Wiggins, who represented Mr. Nixon's former congressional district.

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Can Clinton Survive? / The Puzzle of a Dangerous Liaison

Starr Fails to Shed Light on a Key Mystery of the Affair: Why Risk It?

By Jill Abramson
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — She called him "Big Guy" and smuggled presents and notes to him in the Oval Office. He told her that she made him feel young and that he loved her energy and smile.

The relationship that Monica Lewinsky described to the grand jury convened by the Whitewater independent counsel, Kenneth Starr, began with furtive Oval Office kisses and sexual encounters but deepened into something that, at least to her, was deeply emotional. "I never expected to fall in love with the president," she testified. "I was surprised that I did."

President Bill Clinton has told prosecutors a somewhat different story. He said a relationship that began as a friendship became inappropriately intimate. "I never should have started it," he testified. He said he was deeply torn about the relationship, to the point that in describing one of their encounters, he said he "was sick after it was over."

But even after a long narrative that depicts their relationship in graphic detail, Mr. Starr's report to the House sheds little light on the central mystery at the heart of the sex and perjury investigation

that has engulfed Mr. Clinton for the last eight months: Why would the most powerful man in the world risk such a dangerous liaison — under the noses of Secret Service agents and staff members — with a 21-year-old woman wearing the pink pass of a White House intern around her neck?

Often in her own words and with amazingly detailed recollections for dates and atmospheres, Ms. Lewinsky emerges from these pages as being aggressive, needy, besotted and demanding to the point of becoming extortionate.

For example, Ms. Lewinsky initiated the relationship in the fall of 1995, she said, during the shutdown of the U.S. government, with "intense flirting."

She lifted her jacket to give him a glimpse of her thong underwear. Within minutes they were kissing in an area near the Oval Office, she testified, and she swiftly began performing oral sex on him.

By their third sexual rendezvous, she worried that he did not remember her name. "Is this just about sex?" she asked him, "or do you have some interest in trying to get to know me as a person?"

The president laughed, Ms. Lewinsky told investigators, and said that "he cherishes the time" with her.

By the time she left that day, he "recited both my home number and my office number off the top of his head."

On another day, Ms. Lewinsky said, he suddenly kissed her. "This was another one of those occasions when I was babbling on about something, and he just kissed me, kind of to shut me up, I think," she testified.

But still, it was not until they had some form of sex for the sixth time, and she was counting, that the two of them had their first "lengthy and personal conversation."

Her insecurities in those early days were seemingly offset by the calculating way in which she would later play the president's affection to her advantage, according to her testimony. Long after their brief interludes began, she wrote the president a letter threatening to disclose their relationship and pressed him hard for help getting a job.

Mr. Clinton emerges from the report in equally contradictory ways. Ms. Lewinsky sensed early on that he felt it was wrong to be involved with an intern. He broke off the relationship twice, only to resume sexual relations with her. Until 1997, toward the end of the relationship, he did not let her bring him to climax, telling her, at one point, that he did not

trust her enough. And, after another encounter in which Ms. Lewinsky said the president soiled her dress, he said he felt sick.

The descriptions given by Mr. Clinton and Ms. Lewinsky of their relationship conflict in some details. Ms. Lewinsky said it began in November 1995 while she was an intern and included 10 sexual encounters, eight of which occurred while she was working at the White House.

Mr. Clinton, in his testimony and in a 73-page rebuttal to Mr. Starr's report issued by the White House on Friday, said the relationship began later and was less extensive. The rebuttal emphasized that it was Mr. Clinton who broke off their sporadic encounters in early 1997 "because he knew they were wrong."

The portrait of the relationship in the Starr report is based mostly on Ms. Lewinsky's grand jury testimony, given under a grant of immunity from prosecution. It is also based on the testimony and tapes of Linda Tripp, Ms. Lewinsky's former friend, in whom Ms. Lewinsky confided many details.

Clearly, Ms. Lewinsky grew emotionally attached to Mr. Clinton. At times, she said, she believed that the president loved her. They were physically affectionate: "A lot of hugging, holding hands sometimes," she testified. "He al-

ways used to push the hair out of my face."

She called him "Handsome." On occasion, he called her "Sweetie," "Baby" or "Dear." He told her that he enjoyed talking to her — she recalled his saying that the two of them were "emotive and full of fire."

Even so, their relationship remained constrained, frustrating Ms. Lewinsky after both she and the president had stimulated each other to sexual climax. She wanted to have sexual intercourse with him and sent him a note telling him so after seeing the movie "Titanic."

Ms. Lewinsky felt demeaned by some of their encounters, she testified. Several times, she said, the president talked on the phone to congressmen and others while she performed oral sex on him. During one of those calls, she said, the president exposed himself to signal to her that he wanted sex.

At times, the president seemed reluctant to reach a climax while she was performing oral sex, sometimes pushing her away. On the day that he stained her dress with his semen, he had interrupted her and tried to stop her, Ms. Lewinsky testified; the president hugged her, she said, and told her that "he didn't want to get addicted to me, and he didn't want me to get addicted to him."



Betty Currie: Secretary was more involved than previously recognized.

Clinton's Secretary Helped Enable the Liaisons

By Amy Goldstein
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — Betty Currie, the gentle presence just paces from the Oval Office, was a furtive accomplice to President Bill Clinton's affair with Monica Lewinsky, arranging the logistics of their rendezvous while taking pains to hide the relationship.

The image of Mrs. Currie that emerges in the report by the independent counsel Kenneth Starr, drawn largely from her own grand jury testimony, is of a personal secretary far more involved in her boss's relationship with the former intern than has previously been recognized.

She told grand jurors that she had "sneaked" Ms. Lewinsky into Mr. Clinton's private study, using circuitous routes to avoid other White House sides. She refrained from listing many of the young woman's telephone calls to Mr. Clinton on official telephone logs. Sometimes, she jotted notes or left messages for Ms. Lewinsky, using the alias "Kay."

And last year, shortly after Ms. Lewinsky had been subpoenaed in the Paula Jones sexual harassment case, Mrs. Currie drove to the young woman's Watergate apartment the Sunday after

Christmas, retrieved a box of gifts from Mr. Clinton, brought them home, and stashed them under her bed.

Particularly after Mr. Clinton won election in 1996 to a second term, "the president's secretary acted as intermediary," the report says, noting that Mrs. Currie typically authorized Ms. Lewinsky's visits and sometimes went to the White House on weekends "for the sole purpose of having Ms. Lewinsky admitted and bringing her to see the president."

The report also contends that she played a role in Mr. Clinton's alleged effort to cover up the affair. Last Jan. 17, just hours after Mr. Clinton had given his deposition in the now-dismissed Jones sexual harassment case, she telephoned Mrs. Currie at home and asked her to meet him at work the next day, a Sunday.

During that meeting, Mr. Clinton made statements — which Mrs. Currie assented to, but knew were untrue — that she had always been present during Ms. Lewinsky's visits, and that he had "never touched" the young woman.

Over time, Mrs. Currie seemed to grow less fond of Ms. Lewinsky. At one point, when the effusive young woman appeared on the brink of confirming what Mrs. Currie had merely surmised,

the secretary cut her off, saying, "Don't want to hear it. Don't say any more."

Nevertheless, Mr. Starr's report depicts her as facilitating Mr. Clinton's interactions with Ms. Lewinsky long after several other White House aides had become wary of the former intern. Both by bringing Ms. Lewinsky to Mr. Clinton and later keeping her at bay, she demonstrated loyalty to the president.

Mrs. Currie, 59, continues to work as one of Mr. Clinton's two personal secretaries, along with Nancy Herrreich.

Mr. Starr's report cites ways in which Mrs. Currie enabled the clandestine encounters between Mr. Clinton and Ms. Lewinsky to occur. On Feb. 28, 1997, Ms. Lewinsky attended Mr. Clinton's weekly radio address and had a picture taken with him. Mr. Clinton then told Ms. Lewinsky to see Mrs. Currie, because he wanted to give her something, Ms. Lewinsky said in her grand jury testimony.

The three walked together into the president's private study near the Oval Office. Then Mrs. Currie waited nearby in 15 or 20 minutes while Ms. Lewinsky testified, they had a sexual encounter. Afterward, the three left together.

Mrs. Currie testified that she had accompanied them because she "didn't want any perceptions, him being alone with someone."

The report also portrays Mrs. Currie as a central actor in incidents that had not previously been disclosed. One particularly vivid episode — in which Mrs. Currie seems to have been carrying out the president's more recent desire to keep the former intern at a distance — took place last Dec. 6, when Ms. Lewinsky wanted to deliver to Mr. Clinton several gifts and a letter complaining that "you want me out of your life."

Mrs. Currie had told Ms. Lewinsky that the president could not see her that morning, because he was meeting with his lawyers.

But according to the report, Ms. Lewinsky went to the White House anyway, and a Secret Service officer invited her to wait in a guard booth while he tried to find Mrs. Currie. During her 40-minute wait, one officer said that the president was actually meeting with a television personality, Eleanor Mondale, prompting Ms. Lewinsky to fly into a rage.

Ms. Lewinsky "stormed away, called and berated Mrs. Currie from a pay phone," the report said. Mrs. Currie, in turn, "hands shaking and almost crying," told the officers that Mr. Clinton was "irate" that they had told Ms. Lewinsky whom he was meeting with and warned a Secret Service supervisor that "someone could be fired."

For the first time, Mr. Starr's report documents the aftermath of the meeting last January when Mrs. Currie agreed with Mr. Clinton that he and Ms. Lewinsky had never been alone together.

That evening and early the next morning, Mrs. Currie tried to reach Ms. Lewinsky via pager 11 times, using an alias and leaving urgent messages. "Please call, Kay, it's family emergency," Mrs. Currie said in one message.

She testified that it was "possible" that she had called at Mr. Clinton's suggestion and that Mr. Clinton met with her again approximately a day later to discuss Ms. Lewinsky again.

Mr. Clinton's grand jury testimony defers. He said he "did not remember" having a second conversation with her along these lines, the report says.

Mr. Starr contends in his report that such behavior was an attempt to obstruct justice and influence a witness. Mr. Clinton's lawyers disagree, arguing that Mrs. Currie was not a witness in the Jones case, and Mr. Starr at that time had not begun to investigate the Lewinsky affair.

Secret Service Got Used to Lewinsky's Visits to 'Deliver Papers'

By David E. Sanger
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — The Secret Service, it turns out, had seen a lot of Monica Lewinsky.

When Kenneth Starr's report was made public, it became clear that members of the president's security detail had repeatedly allowed her into the Oval Office after being told that she was delivering papers. They were not surprised that the young aide often stayed for an hour or more.

In at least one case, the Secret Service agents were under specific instructions from a watch commander to forget an incident in which they had witnessed an enraged Ms. Lewinsky stalk off when she learned that President Bill Clinton was meeting in the Oval Office with another woman, although there is no evidence that the meeting was anything other than an innocent visit.

For months, one of the central legal battles of the independent counsel's investigation of the president was over whether Mr. Clinton's bodyguards should have to testify about what they saw, heard

and suspected or would get a waiver on this.

Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin, who oversees the Secret Service, and Justice Department lawyers argued unsuccessfully that the agents guarding any president must enjoy a "protective privilege" under which agents could not be called to testify. With such an arrangement, a president would not feel compelled to keep them at a distance.

Mr. Rubin emphasized in an interview last spring that he was interested only in maximizing the protection afforded the president and had deliberately avoided trying to learn what the Secret Service knew or suspected.

"I don't know the facts," he said. "And I don't have any interest in the facts. I wouldn't sit in the same room if they wanted to tell me. If they saw anything, I have no idea."

Mr. Rubin said that the effort to block the testimony originated with the Secret Service and that the White House was not consulted.

The Secret Service agents were not the only employees around the Oval Office who, based on the details in the Starr report, could have had

reason to suspect a relationship between Ms. Lewinsky and the president.

The report offers many details about how Betty Currie, the president's secretary, set up meetings with Ms. Lewinsky and sometimes escorted her into the Oval Office through back doors, where she would not be noticed.

Other members of the president's staff, the report hints, may have suspected what was happening. But in some cases it is unclear what they saw. For example, Harold Ickes, the deputy chief of staff and Mr. Clinton's main re-election operative inside the White House, went up to the partially closed door of the study off the Oval Office when Mr. Clinton was inside with Ms. Lewinsky and called out, "Mr. President!" when he needed to see him urgently, Ms. Lewinsky recalled, as quoted in the report.

But the most telling incidents that provided corroboration for Ms. Lewinsky's account to the grand jury involved the Secret Service.

Ms. Lewinsky, the report states, arranged with the president in January 1996 to "pass by the office

with some papers" so that she could be invited in.

For several minutes, she recalled, she spoke with Lewis Fox, a uniformed Secret Service agent posted outside the Oval Office.

She was invited in, and after 10 minutes of talking in the Oval Office, the president and Ms. Lewinsky moved toward the back study, where they were out of view.

Mr. Fox, who is retired, testified that the president told him one weekend afternoon that he was "expecting" the arrival of a young staff member.

Mr. Fox appeared to know to whom the president was referring, the report said, and he testified that "it was pretty commonly known that she did frequent the West Wing on the weekends."

"Other agents had told him that she often spent time with the president," the report noted.

When Mr. Fox admitted Ms. Lewinsky to the Oval Office, the president said to him:

"You can close the door. She'll be here for a while," according to the report's account of Mr. Fox's testimony.

Scandal Puts Parents on Spot (and Some Find Lesson for Their Children)

By Ann O'Hanlon
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — Parice Deboer, mother of three, was face to face with her children's questions about President Bill Clinton, his wife, his affair and his lies. So she did what more a few parents have found themselves doing in the last week: She told some lies of her own.

"It's sort of like Santa Claus," she said. "I've never wanted to lie to kids, but then you've got certain things where you have to."

Her children asked what oral sex was, and she explained that Mr. Clinton apparently was dating someone else even though he was married to Mrs. Clinton. And then they wanted to know why Mrs. Clinton was staying with him.

Instead of saying, "Because she's an idiot," which was on the tip of her tongue, she said she

soothed her opinion considerably.

"She's sticking by him until the truth comes out, and then she probably won't stay with him," she said.

Parents around Washington — and no doubt in the rest of the United States as well — say Mr. Clinton's troubles have given them fodder for frank discussions with their children in recent weeks but also have caught them in awkward moments.

Therapists say that parents should let the children lead the conversations, prompting them to say what they know and what they want to know.

With the release on Friday of the report by the independent counsel, Kenneth Starr, however, parents are bracing for more — and harder — questions. They are trying to determine how to be honest without revealing

too much about some sexual acts that have stunned even them.

For Hilary Kirk, Friday was about being a mother of three girls and coping with hard

ironically, about new character-education classes — and listened to parents and administrators struggle with how to discuss the president's troubles with students.

Tired already, she drove to her home in Bowie, Maryland, to hear her 12-year-old son whether the president would be impeached.

"Well you know, things are making it look more likely," she told Stefanie, who looked shocked. Later, on the news, they heard something about sex props and the discomfort level grew.

Many parents say they are turning the difficult moments into teaching opportunities: The president lied, and it came back to haunt him — that's what happens when you tell a lie.

One mother talked to her children about choosing friends and spouses carefully, pointing

out that Linda Tripp was a bad choice for Monica Lewinsky, as was Bill Clinton for Hillary Rodham Clinton.

Richard Pidgen, a clinical psychologist in Michigan, says parents should be frank with their children about what's going on.

And the boy replied: "I'm going to be there for my kids. I'm not going to cheat on my wife or nothing like that."

At the vortex of parental emotions is anger — with the media for bringing what they call pornography into their homes, with Mr. Starr, with Mr. Clinton, with Congress.

Some are turning the anger to action. Hilary Hoyer, Democrat of Maryland, "I would like to tell Mr. Clinton with Congress," she said. "I would like to tell him that he's a bad person."

BEHAVIOR: Can a Man Given to Parsing Words Be Impeached for Doing What Comes Naturally to Him?

Continued from Page 1

Since Mr. Clinton first ran for office in Arkansas nearly a quarter-century ago, the evidence suggests that he has placed himself in danger through his sexual recklessness and then done virtually everything he could,

: Why Risk?

Can Clinton Survive? / Weighing the Evidence

Charge and Countercharge: Differences Abound on the Major Points

By David E. Rosenbaum
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — In his report to Congress, the Whitewater independent counsel accused President Bill Clinton of committing perjury when he said under oath in the Paula Jones civil case and before a federal grand jury that he had no sexual relationship with Monica Lewinsky.

Mr. Clinton's lawyers, in the response they wrote before they had seen the report from Kenneth Starr, insisted that the president had not lied because he and Ms. Lewinsky had not had sexual intercourse.

That is the most fundamental point in dispute between Mr. Starr's report and the response from the president's lawyers. But there are other conflicts in the two accounts.

Mr. Starr insists, for example, that the weight of the evidence indicates that Mr. Clinton dispatched his secretary, Betty

Currie, to retrieve presents he had given Ms. Lewinsky. The president's lawyers said he never asked Mrs. Currie to get the gifts. This bears on the question of whether Mr. Clinton was trying to cover up his relationship with the former intern.

On another matter, Mr. Starr's report argued that Mr. Clinton had actively helped Ms. Lewinsky find a job outside the government to influence her testimony. Mr. Clinton's lawyers maintain that he was not involved in finding Ms. Lewinsky outside employment and that a causal effort by him to find her a government job had no connection with her testimony.

The details aside, the president's lawyers argue that impeachable offenses must entail abuse of office and that the private conduct Mr. Clinton is accused of does not rise to that level. Mr. Starr's report never explicitly addresses the grounds for impeachable offenses.

The Clinton lawyers offered a detailed statement maintaining that impeachment

is warranted only for "wrongdoing that threatened the processes of government or the public order."

"Holders of public office are not to be impeached for private conduct, however wrongful," the lawyers insisted.

Mr. Starr's point is that the president must be held to high standards and that perjury and obstruction of justice are beneath those standards.

His report provided what he called "substantial and credible evidence" supporting 11 charges, all involving the president's relationship with Ms. Lewinsky. These, he said, "may constitute grounds for an impeachment."

When Mr. Clinton gave a deposition under oath in the Jones civil case on Jan. 17, he said he had never had a sexual relationship or sexual relations with Ms. Lewinsky. He took the same position in his grand jury testimony on Aug. 17.

To document his contention that this amounted to perjury, Mr. Starr, relying primarily on Ms. Lewinsky's testimony,

described in explicit detail 10 sexual encounters in a hallway or bathroom near the Oval Office beginning Nov. 15, 1995, and ending March 29, 1997. She performed oral sex on him, the report states, and he touched her breasts and genitalia, but they never had intercourse.

"Ms. Lewinsky and the president engaged in substantial sexual activity," the report says, adding, "The president's denials — semantic and factual — do not withstand scrutiny. The president's linguistic parsing is unreasonable."

Mr. Clinton's lawyers took issue. "The term 'sexual relationship,' like sexual affair, has no definitive meaning," they asserted. "To the President, that term reasonably requires sexual intercourse as a necessary component of the relationship. Since his relationship with Ms. Lewinsky did not involve intercourse, he truthfully answered."

In the civil deposition, the lawyers stated, the president was not pressed with specific questions about what kind

of activities he and Ms. Lewinsky engaged in and was under no obligation to volunteer such information.

On the matter of the gifts, the testimony of Ms. Lewinsky and Mrs. Currie were at odds, the Starr report said. Ms. Lewinsky testified that after she met with Mr. Clinton last Dec. 28, Mrs. Currie called her and said either, "I understand you have something to give me," or "the president said you have something to give me."

Mr. Starr testified that Ms. Lewinsky placed the call, and the secretary said that she did not recall any discussion with the president about retrieving the presents.

When the prosecutor then asked whether Ms. Lewinsky's statement that Mrs. Currie said she had spoken to the president about the transfer of the gifts was false, Mrs. Currie replied, "Then she may remember better than I."

Mr. Starr concluded in his report that "even if Ms. Lewinsky is mistaken and she did call Ms. Currie first, the evidence

still leads clearly to the conclusion that the president orchestrated the transfer."

It is "unlikely," the report asserted, that Ms. Lewinsky would have involved Mrs. Currie without the president's assent or that Mrs. Currie would have driven to Ms. Lewinsky's home to retrieve the presents without Mr. Clinton's approval.

But Mr. Clinton's lawyers state that the president told Ms. Lewinsky she would have to produce gifts in her possession in response to a subpoena.

"He did not ever suggest that gifts from him should be disposed of," the lawyers stated. "He did not ever ask or instruct Ms. Currie to pick up the gifts from Ms. Lewinsky."

Mr. Starr says in his report that Mr. Clinton actively tried to find Ms. Lewinsky a job outside the government to influence her testimony. The report said the president agreed with Ms. Lewinsky when she suggested on Oct. 11 that a friend of Mr. Clinton's, Vernon Jordan, might help with her job search and called Mr. Jordan to enlist his assistance.

Ms. Lewinsky met with Mr. Jordan on Nov. 5. He told her that she came "highly recommended." Mr. Jordan then called Mr. Clinton and told him about the meeting, the report said. When Ms. Lewinsky accepted an offer with MacAndrews & Forbes, the parent company of Revlon, in January 1998, Mr. Jordan called the president and told him, "Mission accomplished," the report said.

Mr. Starr said that he could not prove Mr. Clinton's intentions in the job search, but said "circumstantial evidence" indicated that the president was "motivated at least in part by his desire to keep her on the team" in the Jones litigation.

The Clinton lawyers said that "at no time did the president ask that Ms. Lewinsky be accorded specially favorable or unfavorable treatment because of his relationship with her."

Impeachment: The Process...

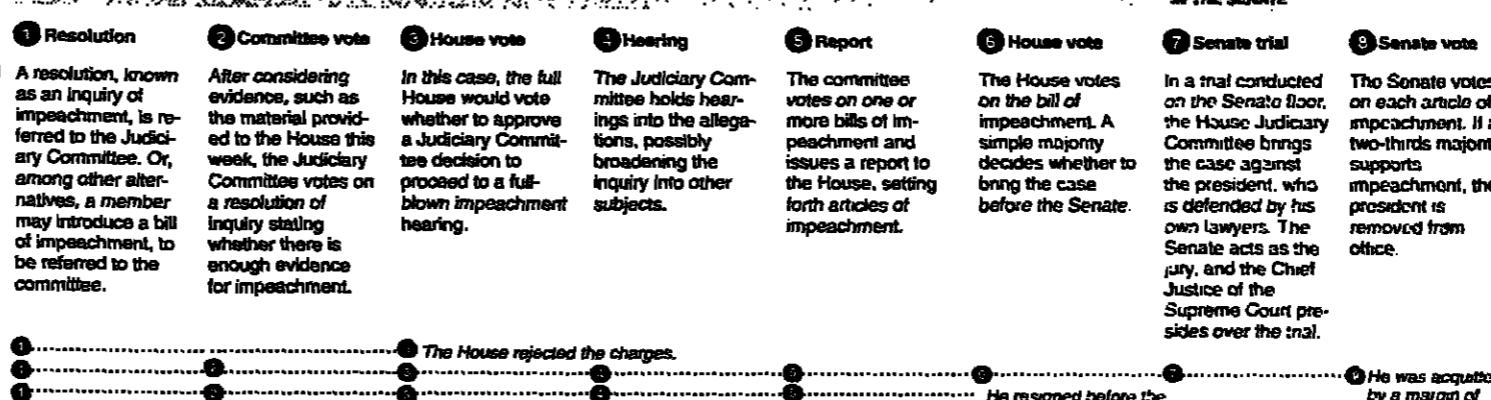
The Constitution spells out in a few brief clauses the roles of the House and the Senate in impeaching officials and removing them from office. Although House and Senate rules control the actions of each chamber, there is no uniform practice for carrying out impeachments, partly because the process occurs so infrequently and under varied circumstances.

...and the History

Since 1789, the House has voted to impeach 16 officials. Seven of those were convicted by the Senate. Most impeachment resolutions that have been filed against presidents have died in the House Judiciary Committee. Here are presidential cases that went further:

PRESIDENT	CHARGES
1843 John Tyler	Corruption and misconduct
1868 Andrew Johnson	Serious misconduct
1874 Richard M. Nixon	Obstruction and abuse of power

Source: "Impeachment: An Overview of Constitutional Provisions, Procedure and Practice," Congressional Research Service; "Impeachment and the U.S. Congress," "Guide to Congress," Congressional Quarterly



Public Holds Key to Fate Of Clinton, Experts Say

By William Glaberson
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — Experts on constitutional law say that some of the scathing accusations in the report by Kenneth Starr, the independent counsel, could, if proved, be appropriately defined as "impeachable offenses."

But in interviews after they had read the report, several of them said that — because impeachment is defined as a political process — the question of whether Mr. Clinton's actions warranted impeachment depended not on legal analysis but rather on public reaction.

The experts described the report as a unique amalgam of well-reasoned legal points and blistering oratory that, they said, appeared most likely to weaken the influence of the document as the debate unfolds in coming weeks.

"Technically, yes, if what's alleged is true, it makes out an impeachable offense," said Susan Low Bloch, a professor of constitutional law at Georgetown University Law Center. "But I think it's going to depend on what the public thinks. Impeachment is a political process."

But the legal experts, drawn from a range of political views and geographic regions, generally said that the report appeared to present a threshold argument that Mr. Clinton's conduct warranted at least an investigation.

Richard Pildes, a constitutional law expert at the University of Michigan Law School, said he had read the report and reflected on it overnight. He concluded, he said, that it raised serious issues of perjury and obstruction of justice.

But Mr. Pildes also said that the report often went beyond standard legal arguments. "There are some aspects of it," he said, "that make it read like the almost fanatical zeal of a medieval inquisitor."

Some of the constitutional authorities were plainly uncomfortable analyzing the report in legal terms. "It reads to me like a brief of a side, a prosecutor's brief," said Erwin Chemerinsky, a specialist at the University of Southern California Law School.

"But in many places," he added, "it reads more like a political argument than a legal brief."

Jesse Choper, a professor of constitutional law at the Boalt Hall Law School of the University of California at Berkeley, said there could be no definitive answer to whether the accusations of the independent counsel constituted "high crimes and misdemeanors."

"There are allegations in the report that President Clinton lied under oath, that he sought to obstruct justice," he said. "All of those things are crimes, felonies. If they are true, it is not beyond the pale to believe that one can be impeached for it."

"The decision of Congress is final," said E. Joshua Rosenkranz, a constitutional law expert who is executive director of the Brennan Center for Justice at New York University Law School.

"It's 'impeachable,'" Mr. Rosenkranz said. "If Congress says it is."

A Document With Attitude (and a Worst-Case Scenario)

By Linda Greenhouse
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — The phrase runs like a grim mantra through Kenneth Starr's report to Congress: "There is substantial and credible information that President Clinton . . ."

Indeed, the Whitewater independent counsel's 445-page "referral," specifying 11 possible grounds for impeaching the president, is brimming with information: dates, times, quotations from previously secret grand jury testimony, graphic descriptions of sexual encounters between Mr. Clinton and Monica Lewinsky.

It is the way the report marshals and characterizes the information it presents that converts it into an aggressive piece of legal advocacy. Few of the factual assertions are left to speak for themselves.

"The president's linguistic parsing is unreasonable," the report says of Mr. Clinton's struggle to avoid acknowledging the sexual nature of the relationship. The report characterizes the president's testimony as deceptive, "not plausible," or defying "common sense."

In short, this is a document with attitude. It serves

up a worst-case scenario: conversations that some might find inconclusive, ambiguous, or at worst suggestive, such as the exchanges between the president and Betty Currie, his secretary, in the period surrounding Mr. Clinton's deposition in the Paula Jones sexual misconduct civil lawsuit, are characterized as a criminal obstruction of justice.

Mr. Clinton's public denial on Jan. 26 of sexual relations with "that woman, Miss Lewinsky" was not simply a politically disastrous whopper of historic proportions. It was part of an impeachable offense,

a presidential failure of the constitutional duty to faithfully execute the laws, the report says.

Prosecutors considering seeking criminal indictments typically prepare in-house memorandums outlining a potential case, much as Mr. Starr has done here. But those memorandums include a section that the Starr report conspicuously omits — a frank discussion of possible defenses to the charges and of vulnerabilities in the prosecution's case.

The analogy is not exact; this is not a criminal case, in which a prosecutor must prove conduct that meets the precise statutory definition of a criminal

offense. Impeachment is an open-ended concept, an impeachable offense essentially determined by what a majority of the House decides it to be. Nonetheless, this report is notable for its failure to acknowledge that there might be more than one way to view at least some of the evidence. For example, Mr. Starr concludes that the president "orchestrated" the concealment of gifts he had given Ms. Lewinsky, a question on which the evidence is suggestive but not conclusive. In trying to make the case that this episode amounted to an obstruction of justice, the report dismisses contrary interpretations with the statement that "those inferences fall outside the range of reasonable possibility."

The Starr report is in sharp contrast to the information Leon Jaworski, the Watergate special prosecutor, gave the House Judiciary Committee that was considering the impeachment of President Richard Nixon in 1974. Mr. Jaworski handed the committee 300 pages of documents, 13 White House tape recordings, and a "road map" to the material. He provided no analysis and drew no conclusions.

As anticipated, the Starr report is rife with details of sexual encounters, toward which the independent counsel adopts a tone of pained necessity. "The

president's testimony unfortunately has rendered the details essential," the report asserts, arguing that Mr. Clinton's sworn denials of a "sexual relationship," "sexual affair," and "sexual relations" amounted to perjury.

The implication that Mr. Starr was compelled to offer up such unpleasant material begs the question whether this was a road that any independent counsel needed to travel in the first place.

Where Mr. Starr finds criminality, others might find pathos or even farce. In a scene reminiscent of a Feydeau bedroom comedy, Ms. Lewinsky is depicted as "walking away briskly" from an encounter with the president as Harold Ickes unexpectedly enters the Oval Office through another entrance.

The sexual details were widely anticipated in advance to be shocking, and some of them undoubtedly are, but the prevailing image is one of banality rather than pornography. According to Ms. Lewinsky's grand jury testimony, as quoted in the report, Mr. Clinton told her that she made him feel young, and she in turn fantasized about marriage. She also offered him "my stupid ideas about what I thought should be done in the administration."

A Prosecutor With a Bible in Hand

Starr's Strict Religious Upbringing Shows Through in Report

By Michael Winerip
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — Kenneth Starr — a deeply religious man whose father, a fundamentalist minister, used to deliver sermons back home in Texas on the perils of women dressed in Bermuda shorts — has sent an impeachment report to Congress chock full of explicit sex. And Wanda Cates of Crowley, Texas, is not surprised.

Kenneth was raised in a home where there was no monkey business," said Mrs. Cates, 74, who attended the elder Starr's church. "His Daddy was one of those hellfire-and-damnation preachers."

She remembers the time the elder Starr, Brother Starr, was chasing down his cow and happened upon a woman dressed in shorts, "milking her own cow in her own cow lot. On Sunday we got a sermon on what young Christian women should wear — not shorts!"

In its tone, the Starr report sounds very much like Kenneth Winston Starr, who was born 52 years ago in a small North Texas town and rose to the top of the Washington legal establishment as an appellate lawyer. The minutely detailed sexual chronicle is cast as an odious necessity, forced on the prosecutor by President Bill Clinton's conduct and evasions.

The introduction comes complete with a warning from the independent counsel: "We have, after careful review, identified no manner of providing the information that reveals the falsity of the president's statements other than to describe his conduct with precision."

But there may be a thin line between the precision and voyeurism.

In many cases, the same graphic details are related in the section on the grounds for impeachment section, the narrative section and in the footnotes. The report mixes the legal and the lewd, and at times is so formal in its description of mankind's most private behavior that it is hard to know whether to laugh or cry in reading it.

"As discussed above," the report says in the grounds for impeachment section, Monica Lewinsky "testified credibly that the president touched and kissed her bare breasts on nine occasions and that he stimulated her genitals on four occasions."

And later, in that same section: "By contrast, the president's testimony strains credibility. His apparent 'hands off' scenario — in which he would have received oral sex on nine occasions

from Ms. Lewinsky but never made direct contact with Ms. Lewinsky's

breasts or genitalia — is not credible." This is very plainly a report produced by a lawyer who moves in the most sophisticated political and legal circles, singing religious hymns on his morning jogs and keeps a calendar of daily Bible scriptures in his Arkansas apartment.

Wayne Drinkwater clerked along with Mr. Starr in the mid-1970s for Warren Burger, then the chief justice of the Supreme Court, and Mr. Drinkwater, too, recognizes his longtime friend's personal imprint in that 445-page report to Congress.

"He would be more bothered than the average prosecutor by these kind of sexual matters," said Mr. Drinkwater, a Mississippi lawyer. "Ken has a very, very strong moral center. He's not the kind of person, some worldly prosecutor who's going to say, 'Boys will be boys.' He won't do that."

All Mr. Starr's professional life — as an aide in the Reagan Justice Department, a judge on the federal appeals court and the solicitor-general during the Bush administration — he has worked doggedly to gather every last fact before making a decision, driving his assistants crazy.

Until taking the independent counsel's position four years ago, Mr. Starr had never been a prosecutor, never even been a trial lawyer, and had spent most of his career as an appellate lawyer and judge.

Mr. Starr, who has been called many things but never "street smart," would ask colleagues if he came across in his public appearances as too pedantic. Even friends regarded him as something of a workaholic egomaniac with a "judgy" personality.

In the midst of the investigation of the president, Mr. Starr enjoyed traveling the country delivering speeches to legal and academic groups on subjects like "accountability" and "civic virtue."

Crimes or Bad Conduct?

Kenneth Starr's report to Congress on evidence of possibly impeachable conduct by President Bill Clinton paints a devastating portrait of Mr. Clinton's behavior, honor, candor and respect for the obligations and dignity of his office. The compilation is such that Congress has no choice but to initiate an impeachment inquiry exploring seriously both the allegations themselves and the threshold standard for the impeachment and removal of a president.

As a starting point, Mr. Starr offers compelling evidence that the president lied under oath both in his deposition in the Paula Jones suit and before the grand jury investigating the corruption of evidence in that case. The president lied about his sexual relationship with Monica Lewinsky. He lied about conversations with her concerning her prospective testimony. And Mr. Starr contends he lied about his conversations with Vernon Jordan concerning her. The report also demonstrates that the president bald-facedly lied to his aides, his cabinet and the American people. While these latter lies are not criminal acts, it is certainly appropriate for Congress and the public generally to consider them in assessing Mr. Clinton's fitness for office.

Mr. Starr also presents disturbing, though not conclusive, evidence that the president obstructed justice in the Jones case. Mr. Starr's evidence that the president had an implicit understanding with Ms. Lewinsky that both would give false testimony about their relationship is quite strong. Also damning is Ms. Lewinsky's testimony about the circumstances under which Mr. Clinton's secretary, Betty Currie, retrieved the president's gifts to Ms. Lewinsky even while those gifts were under subpoena. And though Ms. Currie's testimony contradicts Ms. Lewinsky's, it does so quite equivocally, and Mr. Starr's conclusion that the president orchestrated the transfer is one Congress will need to study.

It will also need to examine closely Mr. Starr's claim that the president tampered with a potential witness when he met with Ms. Currie after his deposition and presented her with a series of statements about the relationship that both the president and Ms. Currie knew to be false. Congress should also scrutinize Mr. Starr's somewhat less well-supported contention that the aid Ms. Lewinsky received in her job hunt from the White House, some of which predated her appearance on the Jones witness list, was intended to corrupt her "testimony." There is, in short, ample evidence in Mr. Starr's report of presidential conduct that Congress could deem grounds for impeachment.

Unfortunately, however, Mr. Starr did not satisfy himself with making allegations that the evidence unambiguously supports, nor did he act in the restrained manner we would have hoped. Despite the report's repeated protestations that the president's testimony necessitated describing the affair in lurid detail, a clear demonstration that Mr. Clinton's conduct constituted

— THE WASHINGTON POST.

The Fair Way to Justice

With heavy hearts and churning emotions, Americans took this weekend to digest Kenneth Starr's allegations of misconduct and abuse of power by President Bill Clinton. The official judgment of Mr. Clinton's fitness to serve will be rendered by the Congress, which is as it should be. Wrangling over the role and rights of the independent counsel can now give way to procedures and powers established indisputably by the Constitution, and that is a healthy development.

But it places a heavy burden on the House of Representatives, which will first consider the case and whether to hold impeachment hearings. Without an exact precedent from Watergate or receiving such detailed accusations from a special prosecutor, the House must invent new procedures as it goes along. So far, the House speaker, Newt Gingrich, and Henry Hyde, the Judiciary Committee chairman, have been true to their promise of a bipartisan approach.

The House's primary obligation is to handle the case in a fair, nonpartisan way. That means that Mr. Clinton and his lawyers should be given every opportunity to see all the evidence, including evidence that has not yet been

— THE NEW YORK TIMES.

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Europe Should Help Russia Face Winter's Hunger

By William Pfaff

PARIS — As always, political crisis is accompanied by misery for the Russian people. Winter is about to arrive, at a moment when existing channels of food and fuel distribution are failing because of the collapse of the ruble. Stocks of all kinds of goods are falling, and it is increasingly difficult to replenish inventories.

The grain harvest this year is reported to have been only two-thirds of last year's, and the potato crop has been devastated by exceptional rains. People are buying up whatever is available in the shops — food, but also electronics, white goods, and anything that will enable them to transform their rubles into lasting value.

Imports are said to amount to as much as 80 percent of the food and goods consumed in Russia's cities. As export earnings have precipitously dropped, the country's ability to pay for imports is drastically reduced. The fall in prices of energy, Russia's most valuable export, was one of the main events triggering the present crisis.

Foreign loans thus have been crucial to Russia's ability to buy abroad, but unless the International Monetary Fund and the Group of Seven industrial na-

tions reverse their stated positions, there will be no more loans without policy changes — renewed "reforms," meaning austerity — that now seem extremely unlikely, if not impossible.

The internationalization of the urban economies has tended to eat them off from the regions, which have been forced into barter and various forms of agricultural and industrial improvisation to survive. This actually leaves the regions in somewhat better condition to get through the winter. There is a strong tradition of peasant solidarity, and nearly everyone who has had access to dollars in recent years has put as many of them away as possible.

But while these resources will somewhat blunt the consequences of the ruble's crash, they only temporize with the fundamental problem that Russia is broke, heavily dependent on imported food and goods, and in for a terrible winter. If provisions and fuel are not assured, the population's reactions may become desperate.

Leaders of the European Union argue now that social cohesion and in-

situtional reform are much more important to Russia than the West has until now admitted. The West's insistence on market freedom and inflation control has been directed toward reassuring foreign lenders rather than Russia's citizens.

The Austrian foreign minister, Wolfgang Schüssel, says that emphasis now should be placed on the "European model" of capitalism "with its social security nets."

It would be possible for Western governments and agencies to finance Russia's basic imported food needs for the winter. This should be done without regard to the questions of basic economic reform, which are in the immediate term insoluble.

Given the policy paralysis in Washington, this would seem a matter in which the Europeans can and should take the lead.

It is, on the political and even moral planes, an opportunity to demonstrate West European solidarity with the Russian people.

It would be a measure of prudence, as well, for the peoples who share the continent with Russia.

no one is willing to go on with that.

Could something be done to deal with the fundamental problem of winter survival? The answer surely is "yes." Some good can be done through religious and other private volunteer groups able to organize direct measures of relief. However, the most important step that could be taken at this point would be to exempt food from the general cutoff of foreign aid and loans.

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International Herald Tribune.
Los Angeles Times Syndicate.

Stand Up to North Korea's Missile Blackmail

By Gerald Segal

TOKYO — When North Korea recently fired a Taepo Dong-1 missile with a range of 1,200 miles, there was a chorus of concern from South Korea, Japan, the United States and others. A U.S. official said that the missile test had the "potential to destabilize the entire region."

In reality, the test has little impact on East Asian security. Its importance is more in what it says about North Korea's predicament and strategy. If there is a military impact, it may well be felt further afield.

South Korea has every reason to be fearful of the North, but this missile adds little to the threat it already faces. Given the range, twice that of the previous No Dong missiles tested by the North, the weapon is clearly designed for more distant adversaries.

Japan is the main target. That

Japanese airspace only reinforces the message. But while Tokyo has reason to be worried, it has no reason to exaggerate the risk. Japan has long been a target of Russian and Chinese missiles, and has relied on the U.S. security umbrella to deter attack.

The North Korean missile firing is more a test of the will power of Washington to sustain its alliance commitments in the region. Japan and the United States certainly have enough countervailing military power to deter North Korea.

Pyongyang has spent much of the last decade demonstrating that it can pose threats to American security interests and blackmail the United States into paying blood money. The 1994 nuclear accord was a case in point, with Washington leading an international effort to supply North Korea with fuel and new

nuclear reactors in exchange for a promise to halt a nuclear weapons program.

No one should be surprised that a North Korea in deep economic crisis wants to make fresh threats that might also be traded for more payoffs. Pyongyang reportedly wants \$500 million before it will suspend sales of missiles to rogue states. No doubt it will want an even bigger sum to suspend the sales of more potent weapons that could cause strategic headaches if acquired by Iran, Iraq or Libya.

The Kim Jong Il regime is fond of this line of blackmail. U.S. intelligence reported in August that North Korea has constructed a new nuclear site that looks suspiciously like a violation of the 1994 nuclear accord. No doubt the calculation is that by raising American anxiety levels, Pyongyang will exact more foreign aid. This tough strategy has worked in the past and its continuation shows just how much Mr. Kim's government is under the control of hard-liners, especially in the armed forces.

This is not a North Korea ready to embrace interdependence with the outside world. It is a country that knows it is weak, but sees its enemies as being fragile, too.

South Korea's economic woes prompt North Korea to interpret President Kim Jong Il's current peace offensive as a sign of weakness. President Bill Clinton's travails are painfully obvious, as is the seemingly structural weakness of the Japanese economy and political system. Recent crises of international capitalism are interpreted in Pyongyang as arguments against reform as a way out of the North's dire economic predicament.

The time has come for the United States and its allies to kick the habit of succumbing to North Korean blackmail. Pyongyang has little leverage if Japan, South Korea and the United States appreciate that the new 2,000-kilometer-range missile has relatively little impact on the military balance in East Asia.

North Korea, like the rogue states of the Middle East that it supplies with missiles and know-how, must be treated firmly. Those who reward Pyongyang's attempts at blackmail should not be surprised if Iraq or Libya try their own versions of the game.

The writer is director of studies at the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London and director of Britain's Pacific Asia Program. He contributed this comment to the International Herald Tribune.

Yes, It's Cheesy, but Not Enough to Lose the Presidency

By Maureen Dowd

WASHINGTON — The president must not lose his job.

Not over this.

Certainly, Bill Clinton should be deeply ashamed of himself. He has given a bad name to adultery and lying. He has made wickedness seem pathetic, and that is truly a sin.

Kenneth Starr, all these years

not delivered impeachable offenses. He has delivered a 445-page Harold Robbins novel.

If we are going to dump our president, it should be for something big and bold and black and original. Not for this tired story ever told.

Middle-aged married man has affair with frisky and adoring young office girl. Man hints to girl he might be single again in three or four years. Man gets bored with girl and

another Jack Kennedy and invoked his idol's name last week to defend himself. But Kennedy was cool. His women were glamorous. The Rat Pack was good copy. He may have been just as immoral, but his carousing at least had style.

In fact, Monica identified with Rose, the zaffre young heroine of "Titanic." Last January, the former intern wrote the president what she called "an embarrassing mushy note" inspired by the movie, asking her former boyfriend if they could have sex (the lying down kind).

Despite the fact that it takes place in the most powerful spot on the planet, the romance does not sizzle.

Bill Clinton fancies himself

another Jack Kennedy and invoked his idol's name last week to defend himself. But Kennedy was cool. His women were glamorous. The Rat Pack was good copy. He may have been just as immoral, but his carousing at least had style.

Mr. Clinton's escapades are just cheesy and depressing. The sex scenes are flat, repetitive, juvenile and cloying, taking place in the windowless hallway outside the Oval Office study or in the president's bathroom.

The props are uninspiring. Monica always pretends she's carrying papers to get into the Oval Office, and she gives the president a frog figurine, a letter opener decorated with a frog and "Oy Vey! The Things They Say: A Guide to Jewish Wit."

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opener decorated with a frog and "Oy Vey! The Things They Say: A Guide to Jewish Wit."

the president laughed, said he cherishes their time together and then "unzipped his pants and sort of exposed himself."

When she complained to the president that she had not had any hugs for months, he quipped, "Every day can't be

Thankfully, Mr. Clinton

grew tired of his little pizza girl.

She sensed he was "putting up walls."

"This was another one of those occasions when I was babbling on about something,"

she said of their last rendezvous, "and he just kissed me, kind of to shut me up, I think."

He didn't call. She began to suspect she was being "strung along."

Trapped in a stereotype, Monica became the raging, vengeful Glenn Close character in "Fatal Attraction."

"PLEASE DO NOT DO THIS TO ME," she wrote in a draft of a note to the president.

In the meantime, an interim

step is in order, a condemnation of some sort by Congress.

God knows Mr. Clinton has earned

censure, and God knows, too,

that we cannot allow presidents

to lie under oath, no matter how

they bite their lip and offer

cockamamie definitions of sex.

He ought to get slapped real good.

But years from now, when

we are no longer revolted by

seamy details, when the salacious

has become tiring, we

will just wonder what this was

all about. How was it that we

lost a president on account of a lie told about sex?

The answer is that we live in an era in which personality has replaced

ideology and a prosecutor, suffused with zealotry, went where

he should not have gone. This is

what concerns me. Only one of us

is president. But all of us

have bedrooms.

The Washington Post

IN OUR PAGES: 100, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

HEALTH/SCIENCE

TOMORROW'S

A Frustrating Quest for a Frozen Virus

By John Noble Wilford
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Digging in a cemetery on the Arctic island of Spitsbergen, Norway, medical scientists found the seven coffins they were looking for, but the coffins lay in shallow graves — not what they wanted to find. They had hoped they would be six feet deep, in permafrost, where the bodies would still be frozen and well preserved 80 years after dying in the terrible influenza pandemic of 1918.

The scientists would not describe the condition of the seven bodies after years of seasonal freezing and thawing. But they said the victims, young coal miners, appeared to have been buried in haste, probably out of fear of the contagion that had claimed their lives. Their bodies had been buried without clothes, wrapped only in newspapers.

The graves were no more than three feet deep, above the permafrost line.

Even so, members of the exhumation project said they got what they came for: samples of tissue from six of the flu victims (they did not have permission to sample the seventh). They denied earlier published reports that the coffins contained only

bones and no retrievable tissue specimens.

Kirsty Duncan, a Canadian medical geographer who directs the project, said the pathologists were able to get more than 100 soft-tissue samples, including several from the lungs. Biologists will be examining the lung tissues in particular for traces of the mysterious flu virus that killed more than 20 million people worldwide in 1918 and early 1919. They are looking for clues to why that contagion was so much more virulent and lethal than any flu virus before or since.

"We got good stuff, really good stuff," Dr. Duncan, a professor at the universities of Windsor and Toronto, said in an interview by telephone from her office in Toronto. "Virologists on the team are very hopeful."

Robert Webster, a virologist at St. Jude Children's Research Hospital in Memphis, Tennessee, was more cautious:

"The samples were not exactly what we thought we were going to get. How much we're going to find out from them remains to be seen."

Research over the last five years by Dr. Duncan had pinpointed these seven graves in Longyearbyen — the principal community on the island of Spitsbergen, about 1,100 kilometers (700 miles) from the

North Pole — as the most infectious behavior. "We might get less out of the samples than we initially hoped," he added.

With new techniques in molecular biology and genetics, perhaps such long-frozen specimens could now reveal why that virus was one of the most lethal organisms that ever attacked humans. The knowledge might help fight future outbreaks.

The state of the specimens has not altered the overall plans for laboratory testing. The samples are being shipped to London for the first round of analysis by scientists at the National Institute of Medical Research and the London Hospital Medical College. Specimens will later be distributed to scientists in Canada, the United States and Norway.

Scientists said they know in three months if the samples were likely to yield significant results, after which they might spend an additional three years on further analysis.

"It will be harder work than if the tissues had been frozen," Dr. Webster said, explaining that the degraded tissues probably contain only scraps from the genetic material of the flu virus, which may present problems in reconstructing the structure of genes critical to the virus's

infectious behavior. "We might get less out of the samples than we initially hoped," he added.

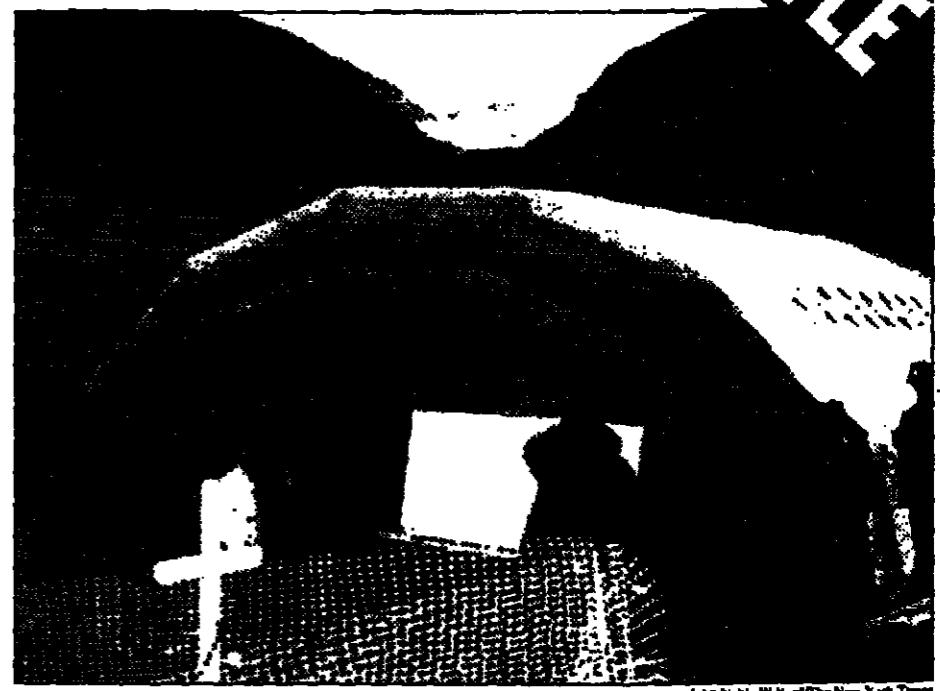
In this case, suggested Dr. Duncan, the team leader, the gravediggers in 1918 might have used dynamite to break up the permafrost down to 6 feet below the surface, which would have left radar traces of disturbed ground at that depth. Then, in haste, they might have buried the coffins in shallow graves without clearing out the dynamited rubble.

The Spitsbergen exhumations are only part of a quickening scientific quest to identify the 1918 flu virus and determine its lethal power. The team that has made the most progress is led by Jeffrey Taubenberger, a biologist at the Armed Forces Institute of Pathology in Washington.

HE scientists said they were confident that the exhumed bodies were those they were looking for.

The bodies were clearly once strapping young men. The seven victims were 18 to 29 years old when they came to Spitsbergen from the Norwegian mainland to work in the coal mines, but they contracted flu on the boat. All of them died in the first week of October, at the height of the global pandemic.

Surveys with ground-penetrating radar led the team to think the coffins were six feet deep. The radar detects dif-



Members of the exhumation project entering a protective tent on Spitsbergen. (John Noble Wilford/The New York Times)

ferences in subsurface densities and textures, indicative of disturbed conditions or buried objects.

Dr. Webster said the lung tissues would probably be the most useful, because flu viruses spread by infiltrating the cells lining the respiratory system and thus should have left traces there. They were not able to take lung samples from all six bodies, he said.

This suggests some bodies were buried decomposed.

Some samples were also taken from other organs. Researchers have speculated that the 1918 variant of the flu virus might have been especially virulent if it somehow attacked throughout the body, not just in the respiratory system.

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CAPITAL MARKETS ON MONDAY

Market Anxiously Awaits a Fed Rate Cut

By Fred Dierckx

The rally that drove yields to record lows reverse course unless the Board cuts interest half a percentage point a year, investors said. Treasury securities of all below the Fed's 5.5 percent overnight loans between the time that has happened. Unless the Fed lowers rates, it has handed 30-year bond returns of about 1.5 percent it could come to a screeching

investors expect the Fed to shift point cut on Sept. 29, when it meets next. They say the cuts to lower rates to help quell the turmoil overseas and buttress economic growth.

Federal officials do that. "They will

have effectively confirmed what the market has done," said Clossen Vaughan, a money manager at Columbia Partners LLC in Washington.

"If the Fed raises only 25 basis points and says it's only an insurance-policy step, two-year notes are going to get killed," Mr. Vaughan said. A basis

U.S. CREDIT MARKETS

point is one one-hundredth of a percentage point.

The U.S. Treasury market will likely continue to take its cue next week from U.S. share prices, although Alan Greenspan's testimony before the House banking committee this week will also grab its share of market focus, traders and analysts said.

Mr. Greenspan, the chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, testifies to Congress on Wednesday in a public hearing

on recent global economic developments.

Kevin Flanagan, an economist with Morgan Stanley Dean Witter, said economic reports "will continue to be put on the back burner," while "developments within the beltway" should dominate trade through their impact on the U.S. stock market.

Also next week, any possible signs of stability in share prices — and the Clinton presidency — would likely prompt some selling in Treasury bonds, despite expectations of a U.S. rate cut, Mr. Flanagan said.

The threat of profit-taking aside, Treasury bonds may draw buyers if Latin American markets extend their slide, said Mark Savigne, a trader with Chase Securities.

Bonds fell Friday for the first time in three days, as stocks rose and as investors balked at the low yields. Even

so, the 30-year yield fell 6 basis points on the week, to 5.23 percent.

"It's dangerous in here," given how low yields have fallen, said Jim Somers, who manages \$2.5 billion at Martindale Andrus & Co. in West Conshohocken, Pennsylvania. "The Fed has to go to ease, probably 100 basis points to support the levels we're at right now — at least."

Predictions of a rate reduction have increased since Sept. 4, when Mr. Greenspan said U.S. economic growth would probably slow because of recent declines in global markets.

"It's just not credible that the United

States can remain an oasis of prosperity unaffected by a world that is experiencing greatly increased stress," Mr. Greenspan said.

Investors took his remarks as a hint the Fed would lower rates if the financial crises in Asia and emerging markets worsen. It last changed its target for the federal funds rate in March 1997, raising it a quarter point.

Christopher Runkey, an economist at Bank of Tokyo-Mitsubishi, said he did not expect the Fed to reduce rates that much, although he is calling for a cut of a quarter percentage point on Sept. 29.

"The Fed doesn't cut rates aggressively unless U.S. citizens are being laid off, and that isn't happening," he said.

Others agree that the strength of the U.S. economy may deter the Fed from cutting rates as much as some investors anticipate. The unemployment rate, at 4.5 percent in August, is near its lowest level in almost three decades, while low mortgage rates are fueling a boom in the housing market. As recently as its July meeting, the Fed indicated it was more likely to raise than lower interest rates.

(Bloomberg, Market News)

Most Active International Bonds

The 250 most active international bonds traded through the Euroclear system for the week ending Sept. 11. Prices supplied by Telekurs.

Rank Name Cpt. Maturity Price Crd Yld

Argentine Peso

212 Argentina 83 12/13/98 95.5891 9.1500

Austrian Schilling

150 Austria 5 07/15/08 105.1500 4.7600

170 Austria 64 07/15/27 115.6000 5.4100

Belgian Franc

158 Belgium 200 12/10/98 91.1489 3.4100

British Pound

137 Fannie Mae 4% 04/07/02 100.4703 6.8400

183 Alliance Linc fm 7.539 05/09/03 99.7600 7.5000

224 EIB 6 11/26/04 104.2370 5.9800

244 Norwest 64 09/07/21 97.5000 6.2400

247 British 64 12/07/93 103.889 6.1800

Denmark Krone

22 Denmark 8 05/15/03 111.47200 6.9700

27 Denmark 7 11/15/07 117.2500 6.5200

30 Denmark 8 03/15/05 121.1600 6.6100

49 Denmark 6 11/15/09 110.8000 5.4300

52 Denmark 7 11/10/24 121.2500 5.7700

54 Denmark 6 11/15/09 109.5000 5.4300

60 Denmark 9 11/15/00 109.5000 6.2400

70 Denmark 6 12/07/99 101.7000 5.9000

78 Denmark 7 12/07/04 111.2500 6.1700

84 Denmark 6 07/04/00 104.2500 5.4900

86 Denmark 6 11/15/02 105.5000 5.6900

104 Denmark 60 01/01/29 98.1000 6.1200

114 Denmark 9 11/15/98 100.2000 6.9400

128 Denmark 4 02/15/01 92.4000 4.0400

134 Denmark 7 01/01/25 100.5000 6.0000

194 Reckordt 7 10/01/29 100.5500 6.9400

Deutsche Mark

1 Germany 5 07/04/07 111.37500 5.2700

2 Germany 54 07/04/08 107.1100 4.9500

3 Germany 49 07/04/08 102.2882 4.5100

4 Germany 5 07/04/08 102.2450 4.7500

5 Germany 6 07/04/08 102.2450 4.7500

6 Germany 49 02/01/03 103.7425 4.3400

8 Germany 49 02/01/03 103.4600 4.3300

9 Germany 6 07/04/06 112.7000 5.3300

10 Germany 6 07/22/98 122.5000 5.2900

12 Germany 64 07/04/00 104.5000 5.2900

13 Germany 64 07/04/00 100.534 3.9900

14 Germany 49 05/01/97 100.8103 3.9900

15 Germany 5 11/12/02 102.2450 4.7500

16 Germany 49 11/12/02 102.2450 4.7500

17 Germany 7 09/09/02 111.2500 5.2000

18 Germany 6 8/1/2002 113.2425 7.0200

19 Germany 65 05/22/99 107.5000 5.5000

20 Treuhahn 75 12/02/02 113.3599 5.5000

21 Treuhahn 75 10/02/02 113.3599 5.5000

22 Germany 6 10/02/00 8.1200 5.2600

24 Germany 94 6/1/2004 118.6586 5.2600

26 Germany SP 280 07/04/27 22.2000 5.3400

27 Germany 64 07/04/00 104.5000 5.2900

29 Germany 54 02/21/00 108.9900 5.2700

31 Germany 64 02/21/00 108.9900 5.2700

33 Germany 49 12/17/99 100.5600 4.2100

35 Germany 64 02/24/05 100.5600 5.7000

36 Germany 64 02/24/05 100.5600 5.7000

37 Germany 54 02/24/05 100.5600 5.7000

39 Germany 54 02/24/05 100.5600 5.7000

40 Germany 54 02/24/05 100.5600 5.7000

42 Germany 64 02/24/05 100.5600 5.7000

43 Treuhahn 75 09/09/02 107.5000 5.4500

44 Germany 49 08/19/02 99.1339 4.8400

45 Treuhahn 75 09/09/02 107.5000 5.4500

46 Germany 64 02/24/05 100.5600 5.7000

47 Treuhahn 75 10/01/02 115.4113 4.7200

48 Germany 49 07/17/99 100.5600 3.9800

50 Germany 64 02/24/05 100.5600 5.7000

52 Germany 54 11/20/00 103.6141 4.9500

53 Germany 59 05/10/00 103.6000 5.6400

55 Germany 64 09/20/00 100.5600 7.5100

57 Germany 64 02/24/05 100.5600 5.7000

58 Germany 64 02/24/05 100.5600 5.7000

61 Germany 64 02/24/05 100.5600 5.7000

62 Germany 74 10/21/02 115.4622 5.3800

63 Germany 83 08/20/01 114.4300 7.6200

67 Germany 39 06/18/98 100.5600 3.5000

68 Germany 39 06/18/98 100.5600 3.5000

71 Germany 39 06/18/98 100.5600 3.5000

72 Germany 39 06/18/98 100.5600 3.5000

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83 Germany 39 06/18/98 100.5600 3.5000

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Fleeing Asia, Fund Manager Goes European

By Lawrence Strauss
New York Times Service

Managing money for Waddell & Reed Investment Management in the rolling hills of Overland Park, Kansas, Thomas Mengel is a long way from his European roots.

Born in what was then West Germany, he spent many of his school years in Milan, and he speaks four languages. And although he says he enjoys the "very livable" quality of life near Kansas City, he acknowledges missing Italy's Renaissance architecture as well as his relatives and friends in Europe.

But Mr. Mengel, 41, has a place for Europe in his portfolio as well as his heart. His stock-picking over the last two years has had a strong European bent, allowing him to take advantage of formidable European market gains as he avoided disastrous sell-offs in Asia and Latin America.

His fund, United International Growth, with \$1.19 billion in assets, is now about 75 percent invested in Europe, mostly in mid- and large-capitalization stocks. Since he began managing the portfolio in May 1996, it has returned 18.3 percent annually, on average, through Sept. 4, compared with just 3.8 percent

for the average foreign stock fund, according to Morningstar Inc., the Chicago financial publisher.

(The \$31.8 million Waddell & Reed International Growth fund, also run by Mr. Mengel, has a similar percentage in European stocks, but it includes many small-cap issues. Since he became manager in May 1996, the fund has returned 22.3 percent annualized through Sept. 4.)

Mr. Mengel's stock-picking is

INVESTING

best described as eclectic. He combines attributes of growth and value investing in what is often called a "growth at a reasonable price" orientation.

While he crunches financial data on individual companies and insists on meeting face to face with their management, Mr. Mengel keeps an eye on macroeconomic developments, too.

That is what prompted him to flee Asia last year, escaping much of the carnage those markets have inflicted on international funds. Among the sell signals were a commercial real estate glut in Thailand, overcapacity in the Indonesian cement industry and a regionwide increase in non-performing loans. He began trimming the holdings at the beginning

of the second quarter of 1997. "We were very concerned," Mr. Mengel said. "Maybe we didn't see the full magnitude, but we were concerned about overpriced assets," like real estate in Hong Kong.

From an 11 percent position in Asian stocks, excluding Japan, at the start of 1997, the fund had eliminated its exposure by the end of October.

Today, Mr. Mengel is still cautious about Asia. "We feel the balance sheets are still deteriorating, and there's a shortage of cash," he said. "The red light is blinking."

By contrast, Mr. Mengel believes strongly that Europe is moving in the right direction economically.

Many companies there are reorganizing, an encouraging trend to him. He is pleased that stock buybacks, common in the United States, are beginning to get legislative approval in some parts of Europe, including Germany and France.

And he surmises that the new European currency will be a major catalyst for further economic changes.

"I think it brings more competition to all of these companies," he said.

As such, some will win big, and some will lose big: fertile territory for a good stock-picker.

In recent weeks, though, he has

unloaded several European banking stocks, including Credit Suisse Group, because of its exposure to the Russian economic crisis. He has raised the portfolio's cash position to 25 percent of assets, from 17 percent in mid-summer.

One of Mr. Mengel's picks is Marschollek, Lautenschlager & Partner, a German financial services company that Mr. Mengel considers an emerging powerhouse. The company aims at young professionals, offering financial planning, mutual funds and banking services.

Mr. Mengel bought the stock in 1996 at 160 Deutsche marks (\$94.43). It closed at 890 DM on Friday, and he said it could grow 30 percent over the next 12 months.

Mr. Mengel also likes TelePizza SA of Spain, which is in the pizza home delivery business, a relatively new phenomenon in Spain. The company, whose stock accounts for 1.2 percent of the fund's assets, controls 50 percent of the Spanish pizza market and has plans to expand into other countries.

Another major holding is a British company, Colt Telecom Group PLC. This company, which accounts for 1 percent of the fund's assets, is building local fiber optic networks in financial centers like Paris, Milan, Zurich and Frankfurt

— and it is focusing on big companies for its customers.

Mr. Mengel also sees investment opportunities in France, where he contends that many equities are relatively cheap.

"While the country is a little behind the curve in terms of restructuring, they are catching up rapidly," he said. "Some of the companies are extremely well-positioned."

SHORT COVER

Malaysia Warns Money Changers

KUALA LUMPUR (AP) — The central bank of Malaysia said Sunday that it had threatened money changers that their licenses could be revoked if they hoard foreign currencies.

Money changers were also warned to sell currencies at the specified rates and keep the spreads between buying and selling rates below 2 percent, the bank said. It added that adequate supplies of foreign currency notes had been made available.

The steps follow complaints that money changers have been charging exorbitant rates, especially for the dollar, which has been officially pegged at 3.80 ringgit.

Meanwhile, 500-ringgit and 1,000-ringgit notes will cease to be legal tender July 1 to make it more difficult to smuggle the currency into the country.

Hong Kong Lifts Rules on Realty

HONG KONG (Bloomberg) — The government, moving to lift the faltering property market, on Sunday relaxed measures introduced in 1994 to counter real estate speculation.

The government cut initial deposits by half — to 5 percent — and removed a requirement that buyers pay a minimum 20 percent down payment after signing a purchase agreement.

In addition, the government said developers may offer 20 percent of new apartments for sale privately, up from 10 percent.

APEC Advances Toward Trade Pact

KUANTAN, Malaysia (Reuters) — The 18-member Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation forum said Sunday that it had achieved a "breakthrough" toward finalizing a trade liberalization agreement in nine "fast track" industry sectors.

Abdul Razak Ramli, the Malaysian chairman of a meeting of senior forum trade officials, said negotiators had agreed to allow for reservations expressed by various economies and to provide greater flexibility in implementation.

Opposition from some APEC members, particularly Japan, at a June meeting of trade ministers held up agreement on a timetable for cutting tariffs and opening up trade worth about \$1.5 trillion in the nine sectors, including environmental goods and services, fish, forest and energy products, and toys.

For the Record

The Swiss government set an indicated price range of 330 francs (\$237.98) to 410 francs per share for its sale next month of up to 34.5 percent of the public telecommunications carrier Swisscom AG. (Reuters)

NEC Corp. is likely to post a net loss of about 10 billion yen (\$76.9 million) in the six months ending Sept. 30, its first such loss in five years, the daily Nihon Keizai Shinbun reported, due to the steep decline in computer chip prices and sluggish sales of communications equipment. (AP)

Finance Minister Dominique Strauss-Kahn of France has cleared the acquisition of the French media company, Havas SA, by Vivendi, previously known as Cie. Generale des Eaux SA, following a favorable recommendation from the antitrust regulator, a spokeswoman said. (Bloomberg)



William Clay Ford Jr., center, posing with Mr. Trotman, left, and Mr. Nasser.

Fords Reclaim Reins at Ford

Founder's Great-Grandson May Be a 'Green' Chairman

By Keith Bradsher
New York Times Service

DETROIT, Michigan — One of the most storied families in U.S. business reasserted control over the second-largest company in the world as William Clay Ford Jr., a great-grandson of Henry Ford, was named the next chairman of Ford Motor Co.

The current chairman, chief executive and president, Alexander Trotman, 65, announced that he would retire at the end of December, a year earlier than expected. Mr. Ford, the 41-year-old chairman of board committees on finance and the environment, will replace him as chairman of the company then.

Jacques Nasser, 50, president of worldwide automotive operations, will replace Mr. Trotman as the chief executive and president at the end of the year and will retain his current title.

In splitting the jobs of chairman and chief executive, Mr. Ford is following an approach popular overseas but seldom seen in the United States. General Motors Corp., the largest company in the world in terms of sales and share of global economic output, divided the jobs from 1992 to 1995 and chose an outside director as

chairman, but only after poor performance in the 1991 recession had destroyed Wall Street confidence in GM management.

Mr. Ford, whose family holds a special class of stock that gives it 44 percent of the voting rights at Ford, said Friday he had no interest in being chief executive. "Having watched how large this company has become, and how tough it is to manage, I think separating these jobs makes a lot of sense," said Mr. Ford, who is raising four children with his wife, Lisa.

Mr. Ford said that he would continue to run the Detroit Lions professional football team, which his ailing father owns, but that he would devote the bulk of his time to Ford Motor.

Henry Ford and his grandson, Henry Ford II, ran the company from its founding in 1903 until Henry Ford II stepped down in 1980. The company has been led by professional managers since then because the younger brother of Henry Ford II, William Clay Ford, was in poor health and the next generation of Ford family members was deemed too young.

A Princeton University graduate who spent a year studying business at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Mr. Ford has won a

remarkable number of admirers on Wall Street for his intelligence and charisma.

But his close ties to environmentalists and periodic calls for the auto industry to pay closer attention to environmental issues have alarmed some auto executives. Their fear has been that the scion of a billionaire family could put the environment ahead of profits and undermine the industry's united front against pressures from environmental groups.

Mr. Ford mentioned the environment sev-

eral times at a news conference Friday, noting, "My vision for the company is product leadership, the highest quality and customer satisfaction and environmental leadership."

In a subsequent interview, Mr. Ford acknowledged "tension" between environmentalism and the pursuit of profits in the short term. But in the long term, he said, Ford can distinguish itself from its rivals, sell more vehicles and attract better employees, by being environmentally friendly.



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SPORTS

Sosa Smashes No. 61 Against the Brewers

3d Homer in 3 Games Ties Maris on List

The Associated Press
Sammy Sosa hit his 61st homer Sunday against the Milwaukee Brewers, moving past Babe Ruth and into a second-place tie with Roger Maris for the most home runs in a season.

Sosa's third homer in three games left him one behind Mark McGwire, whose St. Louis Cardinals played Sunday night at Houston. Ruth hit 60 homers in 1927 and Maris had 61 in 1961.

Sosa hit an 0-1 pitch from Bronswell Patrick, a reliever for the Brewers, into

BASEBALL ROUNDUP

the street behind the left-field fence at Wrigley Field in the fifth inning.

A parade of fans raced after the ball as it went down the street. Sosa, meanwhile, rounded the bases pumping his fist as a sellout crowd at Wrigley began stamping its feet and shouting "Samme, Sam-mee." It was the second straight game in which Sosa hit a homer that cleared the ballpark.

Once he reached home plate, Sosa got a 15-second bear embrace from teammate Mark Grace. Sosa went into the corner of the dugout hugging his teammates along the way and then turned to TV cameras and made his trademark salute — thumping his heart, blowing kisses and making a "V" sign. He then lipped the words: "I love you, mama," to a TV camera. The game was being broadcast live to the Dominican Republic, where Sosa grew up.

Sosa finally emerged from the dugout for a curtain call, tipping his helmet toward his faithful following in right field and waving to all sides of the ball park. It was Sosa's ninth homer this season against Milwaukee, his most against any team.

Diamondbacks 5, Reds 0 Andy Benes's bid to pitch Arizona's first no-hitter was broken up with one out in the ninth inning on Sean Casey's single, and the visiting Diamondbacks beat Cincinnati.

Benes (13-13), trying to pitch the first no-hitter for an expansion team since 1969, had little trouble in taking his gem into the ninth. But after Jon Nunnally fled out to start the inning, Benes walked Reggie Sanders. Casey followed with a solid single to right field, and Benes then left after walking Barry Larkin to load the bases.

Gregg Olson relieved and earned his 28th save, preserving the combined one-hitter shutout by getting Dmitri Young to ground into a double play.

Benes struck out six and walked five in 8 1/3 innings. It was the second time he had gone deep into a game with a no-hitter bid — on July 4, 1994, while with San Diego, he held the New York Mets hitless until Rico Brogna doubled leading off the eighth.

Tigers 4, Red Sox 1 Not even Steve Avery's turn in Boston's rotation could end the Red Sox's slide, as Tony Clark hit a tie-breaking three-run homer to lift Detroit to a 4-1 victory Sunday at Fenway Park.

The loss was Boston's eighth in its last 11 games, with the only two victories coming on days when Avery has started. The Red Sox were 14-0 in games that Avery had gone at least five innings.

With the score tied 1-1 in the eighth, Brian Hunter reached on Nomar Garciaparra's fielding error and Juan Encarnacion singled off Greg Swindell (5-6). Clark followed by driving the next pitch over the left-field screen for his 32d homer of the year. All of the runs were unearned.

Avery opened with 4 2/3 innings of no-hitter and allowed just one run and two hits in six-plus innings before leaving with two on in the seventh. Jim Corsi surrendered Joe Randa's game-tying single before Swindell induced pinch-hitter Geromino Berros to bunt into an inning-ending double play.

Brian Moehl (13-13) got the victory, ending his career-high six-game losing skid. He surrendered one run and five hits in seven innings while striking out four and walking none.

Indians 6, White Sox 3 In Cleveland, Richie Sexson hit a two-out, two-run homer in the eighth inning as the Indians avoided a sweep at the hands of the White Sox.

Sparked by a second day of brush-back wars and a bench-clearing brawl, the Indians scored two runs in the seventh and three in the eighth to reduce their magic number for clinching a fourth straight AL Central title to four.

Cleveland's Omar Vizquel and Manager Mike Hargrove were ejected in the third after the Chicago starter, Jim Parque, threw a pitch over Vizquel's



Steve Chmel/Reuters
The Cubs' Sammy Sosa slamming his 60th homer against the Brewers.

head, resulting in a 10-minute fracas.

Marlins 6, Brewers 5 In Atlanta, the Marlins beat the Braves by scoring four runs in the seventh off Odalis Perez and two runs with no hits in the eighth off Adam Butler. Both Braves relievers are left-handed rookies.

Atlanta scored three runs in the eighth to cut the lead to 6-5 and had runners on first and third with two outs when reliever Vic Darenbough ended the threat by striking out Tony Graffanino.

Pirates 4, Rockies 1 In Philadelphia, Bobby Abreu broke a tie with a two-run, upper-deck homer to right field and Paul Byrd allowed three hits over seven innings as the Phillies beat Pittsburgh.

Byrd (4-2) escaped early wildness to earn his second straight victory. After allowing three baserunners in the first, the right-hander set down 15 of the final 18 batters he faced. Byrd walked three, all in the first two innings, and fanned four.

Philadelphia broke a 1-1 tie in the fourth inning off Pittsburgh's starter, Francisco Cordova (12-13). Mark Leiter pitched two shutout innings to record his 23d save.

After a leadoff walk to Scott Rolen, Abreu launched a towering drive into the upper deck in right field just inside the foul pole. It was his 14th homer of the season and second in as many days.

The Phillies tacked on an insurance run in the fifth when Doug Glanville

tripled past a diving Adrian Brown in center and scored on the same play when rightfielder Jose Guillen bobbled the ball while trying to cut it off.

Dolphins Rush Past Bills

Miami Stays Atop AFC East After Victory

The Associated Press

The Miami Dolphins compensated for a sputtering offense with a swarming pass rush to beat the Buffalo Bills, 13-7, in Miami on Sunday. Miami sacked Rob Johnson eight times, and limited the Bills to 187 yards.

Trace Armstrong, Jason Taylor and rookie Lorenzo Bromell had two sacks apiece to lead the charge for the Dolphins. Their sack total was one shy of the team record set in 1973.

Miami remained alone atop the AFC East at 2-0. Buffalo fell to 0-1.

Dan Marino threw for the Dolphins' only touchdown, a 17-yarder to Lamar Thomas, and Olindo Mare kicked field

NFL ROUNDUP

goals of 33 and 27 yards. Buffalo's lone score came on a fourth-down, 28-yard pass from Johnson to Eric Moulds in the second period.

Miami's final stand came in the last two minutes. The Bills took possession at their own 20-yard line with 1:53 left, but time expired with an incompletion at the Buffalo 45.

The Dolphins' running game, which showed signs of improvement in the opener at Indianapolis, stalled against the Bills. It took the Dolphins five possessions and 17 minutes to get a first down, and on the next play, Marino was sacked by Bruce Smith.

Smith made seven tackles in his first game of the year. He sat out the opener and blamed a sore knee, but there was speculation that he is unhappy with his contract. Marino finished 14-for-26 for 159 yards. He had five passes dropped.

Johnson, who was knocked out of the opening game at San Diego a week ago with a concussion, this time went the distance. He was 10-for-18 for 134 yards.

Ravens 24, Jets 10 Rod Woodson, an old pro accustomed to making big plays, and Jerome Lewis, a youngster just starting to earn a reputation, lifted the visiting Baltimore Ravens past the host New York Jets, 24-10, on Sunday.

Woodson had two interceptions, returning the second 60 yards for the clinching touchdown. Much earlier, Lewis went 69 yards on a punt runback to give Baltimore the lead.

Lewis, who had a 97-yard punt return against the Jets in the preseason, headed down the middle, then quickly cut to the sideline and sped to the end zone. It was the third score on a punt runback in Lewis's two-plus pro seasons.

Woodson, who joined Baltimore as a free agent this season and was a cornerstone on the NFL's all-time team, stepped in front of Jerald Sowell to pick off Glenn Foley's pass and race to the

end zone with 8:44 remaining. Baltimore's defense also had four sacks against a team that scored 30 points and gained 463 yards last week. And it staged a goal-line stand late in the first half to turn the game in the visitor's favor.

After Lewis's score, the Jets (0-2) covered 83 yards in 11 plays to tie it, gaining all but 3 yards in the air. Keyshawn Johnson took Foley's lob in the corner of the end zone over DeRon Jenkins.

Packers 22, Buccaneers 15 Reggie White was in vintage form Sunday at Lambeau Field. The 36-year-old defensive end got three sacks and led a pass rush that harassed Trent Dilfer all day as Green Bay beat Tampa Bay, 23-15, for their 29th consecutive home victory, including four playoffs.

Dilfer was sacked six times, losing the ball on three of them, as the Packers (2-0) put the Bucs (0-2) in an early hole in the NFC Central.

But the news wasn't all good for Green Bay.

Pro Bowl running back Dorsey Levens, who signed a five-year, \$25 million contract three weeks ago following a 44-day holdout, left midway through the fourth quarter with a sprained left ankle.

The Bucs trailed, 23-0, before rookie Jacquizz Green returned a punt 95 yards for a touchdown with 6:03 left, and Dilfer hit Patrick Hape for the conversion.

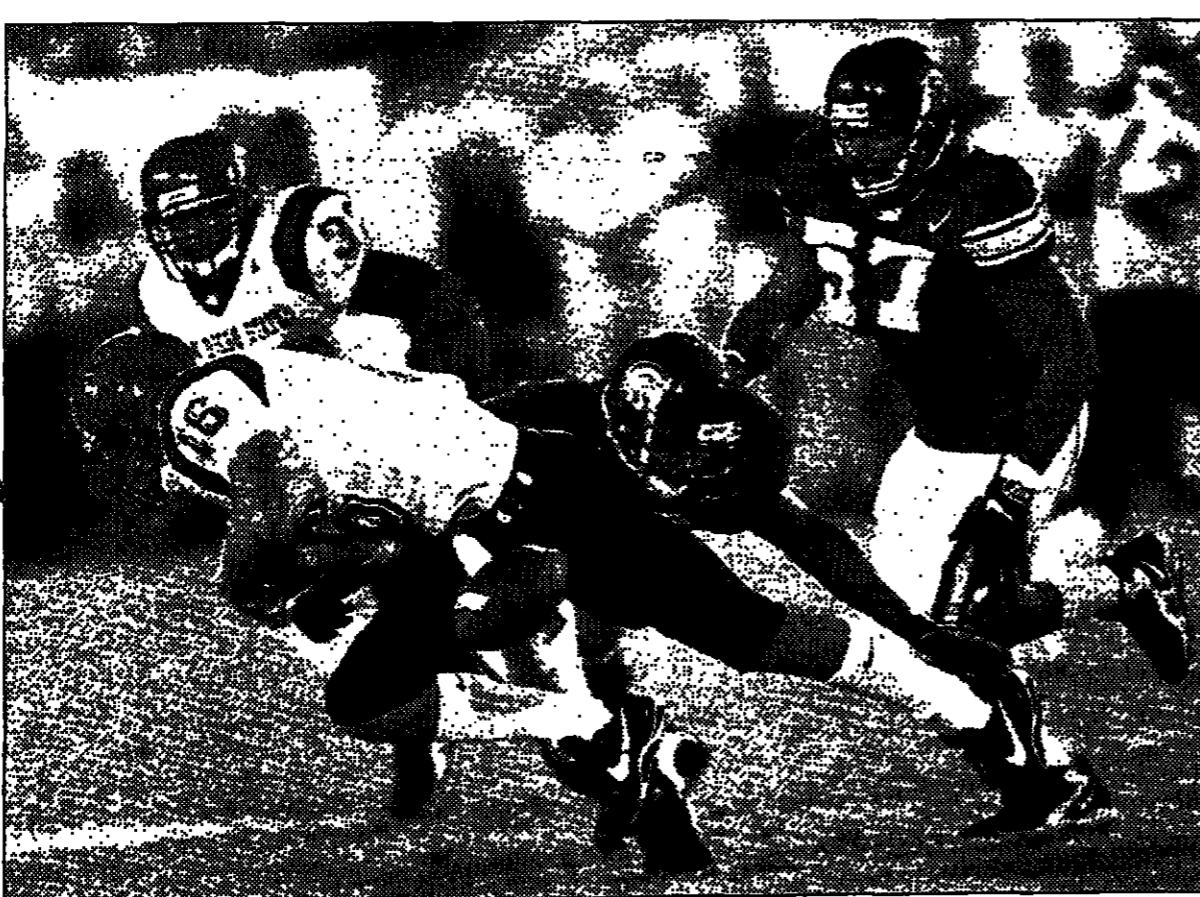
The Bucs pulled to 23-15 on Dilfer's 2-yard TD pass to Dave Moore with 1:57 left. But Bill Schroeder recovered the onside kick, redeeming the Packers' special teams, who muffed two punts in addition to giving up a TD return for the second straight week.

Steelers 17, Bears 12 At Pittsburgh, the Chicago Bears should have known that Jerome Bettis wouldn't have two bad games in a row.

Bettis bounced back from his worst game with Pittsburgh, running for 131 yards and a touchdown to lead the Steelers over the Bears, 17-12, on Sunday.

The Bears (0-2), 24-23 losers to Jacksonville last week when they couldn't score from the 1-yard line with four minutes left, again had a chance to win in the fourth quarter.

But Camell Lake intercepted Erik Kramer's pass on third-and-10 from the Steelers' 16 with 44 seconds left to halt what could have been a game-winning drive. Chicago wasted rookie Curtis Enis's 94-yard game — he has 171 yards in two games despite missing most of training camp — and an excellent start by a much-maligned defense that gave up a team-record 421 points last season but forced the Steelers to punt on their first four possessions.



Steve Corman/Reuters
Spencer Brinton of San Diego State fumbling as he is tackled by Mike Pollard of Southern California.

Penn State's Paterno Gets 300th Victory

The Associated Press

STATE COLLEGE, Pennsylvania — On his morning walk, the possibility of No. 50 hit Joe Paterno like a locomotive.

"I really didn't think it would be a big deal until this morning," the choked-up Paterno said Sunday after No. 9 Penn State beat Bowling Green, 48-3, and gave Paterno his 300th victory as the team's coach. "A lot of things went through my mind, and I thought I'd better be careful or I'll get carried away."

"He was carried away all right. After twice being doused with water as the final seconds ticked down, two of Pa-

tron's players lifted him onto their shoulders and carried him to the middle of the field. "I'm so overwhelmed, I really can't tell you," Paterno said after becoming the sixth coach in NCAA history to win 300 games.

Playing the game was easy. Cordell Mitchell ran 77 yards for a touchdown on Penn State's first play; Bruce Branch followed 83 seconds later with a 73-yard punt return for a score and the Nittany Lions coasted. Penn State (2-0) also scored on interception returns of 16 yards by Lavon Arzinger and 30 yards by Joe Dawkins, and Mitchell finished with 104 yards and two touchdowns.

Paterno, 71, in his 33rd season as head coach, joined Bear Bryant (32), Pop Warner (319) and Amos Alonzo Stagg (314) as the only major-college coaches to gain 300 victories. Eddie Robinson, who retired from Grambling last year, has the NCAA record of 408 and John Cagliardi of St. John's, Minnesota, has 342.

COLLEGE FOOTBALL ROUNDUP

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WORLD ROUNDUP

Olano Leads Vuelta

CYCLING Abraham Olano of Spain and the Banesto team stormed through Sunday's ninth-stage individual time trial to take the overall leadership of the Tour of Spain.

Olano covered the 39.5-kilometer (24.5-mile) flat run in 47 minutes and 7 seconds. His closest rival, Melchor Manri of the Once-Deutsche Bank team, needed 41 seconds more.

"Everything turned out well but there was a stretch when I lost my rhythm because of the strong wind that blew almost all the time," Olano said.

Prior to the ninth leg, which was held on the island of Mallorca, Olano was at No. 5 in the standings of the 22-stage Tour.

A fellow Banesto rider, Jose Maria Jimenez, who went into the time trial in the lead, needed over four minutes more than Olano to pedal the windy course.

Alex Zulle of Switzerland and the Festina team, one of the favorites to take the stage, put in a disappointing performance and came in 2 minutes and 24 seconds behind the winning time.

But another favored sprinter, the Frenchman Laurent Jalabert of the Once team, put in a strong run and moved up one place in the overall table to No. 2.

The American former world champion Lance Armstrong who has battled back from cancer also came in strong, placing sixth in the stage and holding onto the No. 4 spot in the Tour standings. (AP)

Aragones Jilts Spain

SOCCER The veteran coach Luis Aragones on Sunday rejected an offer to take on Spain's beleaguered national soccer squad, sending the Spanish Football Federation scurrying to find another option to replace Javier Clemente, state-owned radio reported.

Clemente's departure last week was promoted by a humiliating 3-2 defeat by the semiprofessional Cyprus team that added insult to the injury of a disappointing World Cup performance.

Aragones refused the job because the Federation insisted he work with Clemente's support team rather than bring in his own, the coach told the national news agency EFE.

Montgomerie Triumphs

GOLF Colin Montgomerie shot a 3-under 69 on Sunday to win the British Masters by one stroke over Pierre Fulke of Sweden and Eduardo Romero of Argentina. Montgomerie, who had been in a slump recently, birdied the 13th, 14th and 17th holes in finishing with a 7-under 281 total at the Forest of Arden course. He earned \$210,750. Fulke closed with a 67 and Romero shot a 68 for totals of 213. (AP)

2-Goal Burst By Inter Milan Substitute Saves the Day*The Associated Press*

ROMA — With no help from its veteran stars, Internazionale of Milan turned to an unheralded youngster to avoid an upset Sunday.

The striker Nicola Ventola came off the bench in the second half and scored twice in five minutes as Inter rallied from a two-goal deficit to earn a 2-2 draw against promoted Cagliari to open the Italian League season.

The 20-year-old, acquired from Bari over the summer, produced on an afternoon when Brazil's Ronaldo was serving a one-game suspension carried

EUROPEAN SOCCER ROUNDUP

over from last season and Roberto Baggio and Youn Djorkaeff, a member of France's World Cup champions, were ineffective.

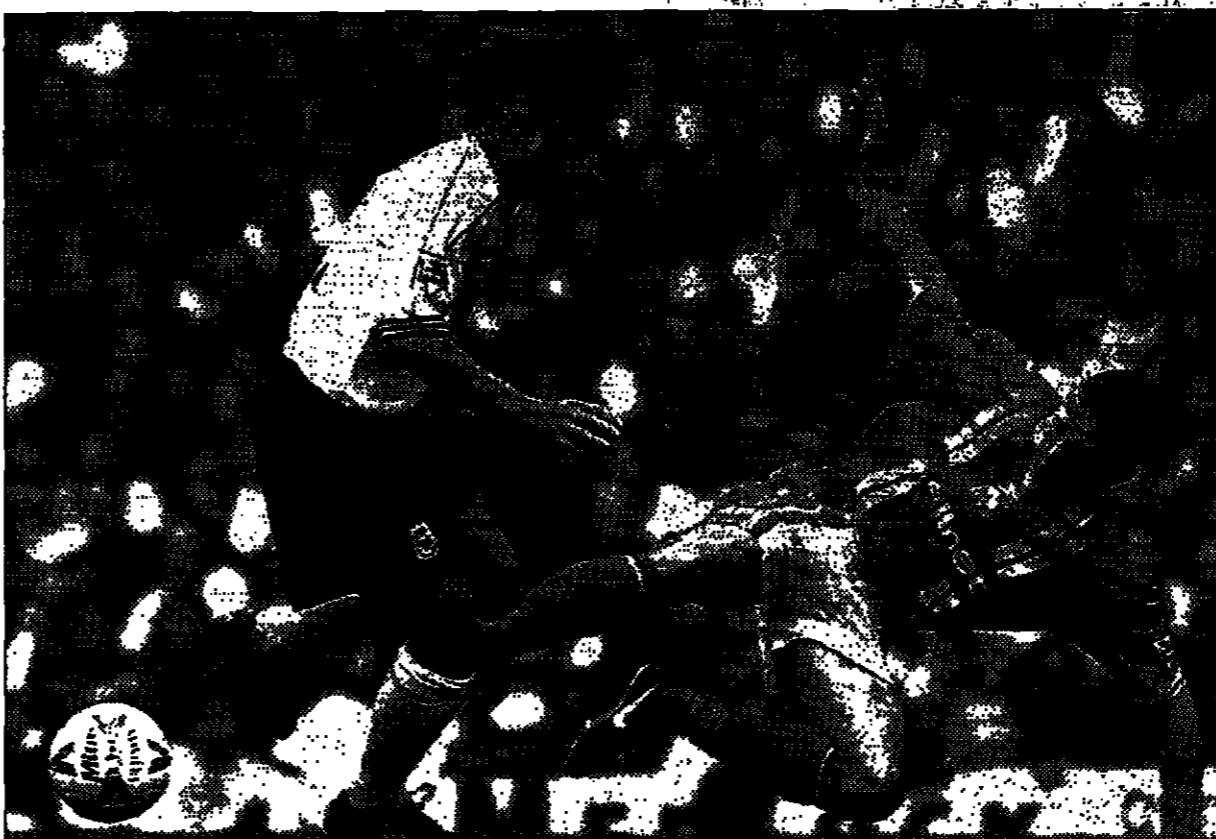
Inter was not the only big club that had trouble with a mediocre one Sunday. The Italian Cup holder, Lazio of Rome, widely considered a contender for the Serie A title, allowed Piacenza's Simone Inzaghi — the younger brother of the former scoring champion Filippo — to net his first league goal with three minutes left and settled for a 1-1 draw on the road.

And Juventus of Turin opened its quest for a third consecutive championship with a dominant first half. Although it played a poor second one, it did manage to escape Perugia with a 4-3 victory.

Putting a damper on the Juventus victory was an injury to Zinedine Zidane, France's World Cup hero, who limped off the field after a rough tackle in the 22nd minute.

After Juventus took a 3-0 lead, Perugia fought back with two goals by the Japanese midfielder Hidetoshi Nakata, a weekend when 16 of the 27 goals were scored by foreigners.

In Sunday's other game, Bari edged Venezia, 1-0.



Dylan Martinez/Reuters
Spurs' Stephen Clemence, left, and Steve Vickers of Middlesbrough clashing Sunday. Middlesbrough won, 3-0.

ENGLAND The Colombian striker Hamilton Ricard scored two first-half goals Sunday to lead Middlesbrough to a 3-0 victory that ended Tottenham's winning streak at two games.

Ricard, a transfer from the Colombian team Cali Deportivo, scored in the 25th and 32d to give newly promoted Middlesbrough eight points in five games — the same total as Manchester United, Wimbledon and West Ham.

Tottenham has six points.

A crowd of 67,000 fans saw the match between the two rival clubs from the same area. Buckley's goal sent Tottenham, Champions Cup winner two seasons ago, to its second defeat in four fixtures to find space to shoot.

Aston Villa leads England's Premier League with 13 points, followed by Liverpool with 10 and Leeds and Derby with nine each.

GERMANY A goal by the South African international Delron Buckley

three minutes from the end gave Bochum an upset 1-0 victory at Borussia Dortmund on Sunday.

The game was marred by an incident in the 17th minute when a full bottle of water hurled from a section of the stands filled with Bochum fans hit the Dortmund midfielder Thomas Haessler in the head. Haessler, who was preparing to take a corner kick when he was struck, suffered a cut but returned to the game seven minutes later.

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NETHERLANDS Ajax Amsterdam and FC Utrecht both dropped their first points of the season Sunday, drawing, 2-2, in a top-of-the-table match.

The major beneficiary was Feyenoord Rotterdam, which now leads the Dutch premiership outright with 12

points from four games, two ahead of Utrecht, Ajax and Vitesse Arnhem.

Jari Litmanen put Ajax ahead after just six minutes, but then the American defender John O'Brien, on loan from Ajax, equalized for his current employer.

The South African Benni McCarthy looked to have won the game for Ajax with a stylish goal, but Utrecht came back hard in the closing stages.

Tom van Mol was adjudged to have handled the ball in forcing it into the Ajax net, but then the striker Michael Mols scored a legitimate equalizer.

In the dying minutes an Ajax defender, Mario Melchiot, cleared off the goal line to save a point for the Dutch champion, which starts its Champions League campaign at Croatia Zagreb on Wednesday.

In Sunday afternoon's other game, Jan Vennegoor of Hesselink's goal gave FC Twente a 1-0 triumph over RKC Waalwijk.

Grand Prix Title Race Heats Up**Schumacher Catches Hakkinen With His Victory at Monza***The Associated Press*

MONZA, Italy — Michael Schumacher fought back from a disastrous start on Sunday, led a 1-2 Ferrari triumph in the Italian Grand Prix and had Mika Hakkinen stop the world drivers' standings for the season.

The sixth season victory gave the German driver a total of 80 points, the same as Hakkinen, who finished fourth in the 14th Grand Prix event.

Schumacher led a British teammate, Eddie Irvine, by 37.9 seconds after 53 dramatic laps that initially looked a flop for the home cars and then ended in a dramatic result. Michael's younger brother, Ralf, drove his Jordan-Mugen Honda to third place, with a gap of 4.11 seconds.

Hakkinen, who spun off while dealing with his Ferrari rival for first place, still completed the race in a McLaren-Mercedes, collecting three points. He trailed the winner by 55.6 seconds.

Jean Alesi, in a Sauber-Petronas, and Damon Hill, in a Jordan-Mugen Honda, finished in fifth and sixth place respectively. Hill, winner of the previous Grand Prix in Belgium in which both Schumacher and Hakkinen did not finish, was the first of the lapped drivers.

Thousands of fans, waving red-and-yellow Ferrari flags, flock onto the track as Schumacher completed a triumphant parade lap after winning the race in 1 hour, 17 minutes, 9.672 seconds.

Hakkinen, who had entered the Italian Grand Prix with a seven-point lead, took advantage of a slow start by Schumacher from the pole position to lead the initial laps.

The bad start of the German driver, which dropped Schumacher to fourth place, silenced a crowd of nearly 100,000 Ferrari supporters.

The fans regained their hope and enthusiasm in the 17th lap when McLaren's David Coulthard, who had driven past Hakkinen in the ninth lap, blew the engine of his car. Schumacher, meanwhile, charged from third to first, overtaking Hakkinen with a daring attack just before the Le Mans corner.

"Yes, I made a terrible start," Schumacher said. "At one moment I thought I could not save my race and reach the leading McLarens. I'm overjoyed for winning at Monza."

It was Schumacher's second victory at the Ferrari home track in three years.

As the Schumacher brothers celebrated their first podium ever together, Michael embraced Ralf, who prevented Hakkinen from keeping the championship lead by beating the Finnish driver for third place.

Sunday's victory improved Schumacher's chances to win his third drivers' title. Hakkinen and Schumacher are the only drivers with a chance of winning the title, with two races remaining.

For Sampras and Hingis, the Going Gets Tougher

By Christopher Clarey
International Herald Tribune

NEW YORK — One came up lame; one came up short, and now future victories will come harder for Pete Sampras and Martina Hingis.

Their richly rewarded sport is in the midst of a democratization kick: eight different players won the eight Grand Slam singles titles this year. And in a game where nebulous items like aura and confidence can prove as useful as running forehands and big serves, Sampras and Hingis grow more vulnerable by the match.

You could see it in Lindsay Davenport's eyes and swing on Saturday, as

she jerked Hingis around the baseline with her flat groundstrokes in the women's final of the United States Open: a final she would win 6-3, 7-5. You could see it in Patrick Rafter's body language and cocksure first volleys, even before Sampras pulled a thigh muscle in the third set of Rafter's semifinal victory in the men's semifinals that set up an all-Australian final with Mark Philippoussis.

Hingis and Sampras are still the top-ranked players in their sport, but they are clinging to their edge and will have to improve, just as their rivals have improved, before they resume dominating the opposition with any regularity.

Hingis won three of the four Grand Slam events last year, when she had a vice-grip on power in women's tennis, but her only major title this year came at the Australian Open in January.

Hingis lost in the semifinals of the French Open to Monica Seles; in the semifinals of Wimbledon to Jana Novotna and in the final here to Davenport. Her last title was the Italian Open in May, and when Davenport, who is 6 feet, 2 inches tall (1.89 meters) reached down, down, down to shake her hand at the net, Hingis, who is 5 feet, 7 inches tall, suddenly looked like an underdog.

"I don't think she's as aggressive as she was last year," Davenport said.

"I think last year, she used to maybe

step into a few more balls. It's hard to compare, but I feel like I had a lot of time to set up and go for my shots."

"But she's always tough, it's amazing. For her, if she isn't playing great, she still gets to the final."

While Hingis won her first Grand Slam title at age 16, Davenport had to wait until she was 22 to reach her first final, but on her mother's birthday, she made the most of that opportunity, dictating play during the baseline exchanges and serving powerfully. Though she faltered leading, 4-2, in the final set, she regained her composure and rhythm down the stretch.

See TENNIS, Page 20



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